The Outlook

Volume 81 Saturday, December 2, 1905 Number 14

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THE OUTLOOK is a Weekly Newspaper and an Illustrated Monthly Magazine in one. It is published every Saturday—fifty-two issues a year. The fourth issue in each month is an Illustrated Magazine Number, containing about twice as many pages as the regular weekly issue, and many pictures.

PRICE.—The subscription price is Three Dollars a year, payable in advance. Ten cents a copy.

POSTAGE IS PREPAID by the publishers for all subscriptions in the United States, Hawaiian Islands, Philippine Islands, Guam, Porto Rico, Tutuila (Samoa), Shanghai, Canal Zone, Cuba, Canada, and Mexico. For all other countries in the Postal Union add $1.56 for postage.

CHANGE OF ADDRESS.—When a change of address is ordered, both the new and the old address must be given. The notice should be sent one week before the change is to take effect.

DISCONTINUANCES.—If a subscriber wishes his copy of the paper discontinued at the expiration of his subscription, notice to that effect should be sent. Otherwise it is assumed that a continuance of the subscription is desired.

HOW TO REMIT.—Remittances should be sent by Draft on New York, Express-Order, or Money-Order, payable to order of THE OUTLOOK COMPANY. Cash should be sent in Registered Letter.

LETTERS should be addressed:

THE OUTLOOK COMPANY

Chicago Office, 1436 Marquette Building 287 Fourth Avenue, New York

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The Outlook

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 2, 1905

The Sultan and the Powers

Last week the Sultan of Turkey replied to the ultimatum of the Allied Powers regarding an increase of pressure in Macedonia, in order to compel the definite execution of the scheme for financial control. This plan includes certain reforms decided upon by the Emperors of Austria and Russia, acting for the Powers, at their famous Mürzsteg conference, and accepted by the Sultan, who now declares that if these reforms have not entirely succeeded, the cause has been in the hatred dividing the nationalities in Macedonia. Abdul Hamid adds that it is impossible to accept an increased financial control of Macedonia, as it would violate his sovereignty. Nevertheless, he agrees to the prolongation of the mandates of the foreign civil agents, and concludes with these threatening words:

> If the Powers increase their pressure, in order to compel the acceptance of the control-scheme, the Imperial Government declines all responsibilities for the consequences which may arise from the discontent of the public.

The implication of the possibility of massacre naturally created a bad impression everywhere. It was regarded as an attempt to create artificial public excitement against financial reform, with the object of intimidating Europe. At the same time it was recognized that danger of an armed uprising, both by the Turks and by the Christians, exists in Macedonia, and that at the first sign of an outbreak there the Powers should have forces ready to act. As regards the international fleet in Greek waters, the Sultan's answer has not postponed the desire to make a naval demonstration. It may be decided to seize the Smyrna custom-house, in which case the island of Mitylene might be used as a base. If the project of blockading the Dardanelles, however, is not abandoned, the islands of Tenedos and Lemnos might well be occupied to serve as bases. For efficient help, however, the port of Salonika should receive attention. Salonika is Macedonia's commercial capital. The receipts at its custom-house are very considerable. With Macedonian revenues cut off from the Sultan, a very strong argument would be presented for a compromise on his part. Relying on Germany's apparent apathy, however, the Sultan is still playing his infamously time-honored game of setting the Powers against one another. One of the keenest statesmen of Europe, he knows that the Austrian and Italian contingents could hardly take part in a contest with Germany without rupturing the Triple Alliance, and, with practical mutiny at Odessa, the Russian naval contingent, operating from the Black Sea, would be of little vital service. Finally, he is reported to have made this acute observation: "However ill my Bashibazuks may have treated my Christian subjects, they have not treated them so ill as the Czar's Christian Cossacks have treated the Czar's Jews!"

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The Russian Zemstvoist and Peasant Congresses

Last week was an important one for Russia. It recalled a similar week last summer when, also at Moscow, there were congresses of the zemstvoists and of the peasants. The first is the most representative institution in Russia as Russia is to-day. The second represents the vast body of the people, and also the quarter from which ultimately the most serious danger may be apprehended. That the first body, with its enormous influence, should avoid many of the perils prophesied by pessimists is, we believe, of hopeful augury for Russia's future. It had been freely declared that the zemstvoists would turn upon the Witte Government because that Government does not yet stand for a constituent assembly—that is, an assembly authorized to form a constitution.

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Instead, however, the Congress, declaring its solidarity with the principles of the Imperial manifesto of October 30, proclaiming freedom of conscience, speech, association, meeting, and the press, practically assured the Government of the support of the great majority of zemstvos, or provincial councils, in carrying into effect those promised liberties. But the Congress did not fail also to declare that the Government must also promise to the first Duma the power to elect a constituent assembly to elaborate a constitution for the Empire. Whether the Government grants this demand or not, it is believed that most of the other demands of the Congress will be received with favor; for instance, the demand that officials and police who participated in the recent massacres should be punished has already been met by Count Witte's summary dismissal of the Governors of Jaroslav, Esthonia, Perm, Kazan, Nyland, Tomsk, and the Prefect of Odessa. Meanwhile the extreme wing of the zemstvoists denounced the proposition of the majority to support the Government. At the Peasants' Congress, formed of delegates from the mirs, or village communes, the opinion of four-fifths of the Czar's subjects was registered more radically. The peasants demanded a constituent assembly, elected by direct universal suffrage, without regard to sex, nationality, or religion, and without the intermediation of any Duma, which would make their vote indirect instead of direct. It was also resolved not to buy land from the landowners, and, should a strike be necessary in order to force the Government to give land in severalty to the peasants, to refuse to pay taxes or respond to calls for recruits or reservists. The agrarian riots in many Russian provinces last week add force to these demands, while the critical position of the Government is emphasized by the revolt of sailors and dock-workers at Sevastopol, in which one or more regiments of soldiers have taken part.

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Japan and Korea Last week at Seoul, the capital of Korea, a conference of nearly a week between the Japanese envoys and the Korean Emperor and Cabinet was ended by the acquiescence of the Koreans in the four Japanese demands. Those demands were as follows: (1) the appointment of a Japanese administrator to govern Korea, under the Korean Emperor; (2) the appointment of Japanese administrators at all Korean treaty ports; (3) the transfer of Korean diplomatic affairs to Tokyo; (4) no arrangements to be made by Korea with other Powers without the consent of Japan. It is probable that the consent of the weak Emperor and his Cabinet was hastened by a demonstration maintained by several thousand Japanese soldiers on the esplanade before the palace, and by the patrol of the streets by Japanese troops. Be that as it may, the elimination of Korea from the list of independent States is, we think, really in the interest of the Koreans themselves. Mr. George Kennan, in a recent article in The Outlook, has effectively shown what little hope the Koreans have of any native civilization. The Japanese protectorate over Korea, now definitely established, will be, it is to be hoped, like that of England over Egypt, an assurance of real liberty and progress. With the financial, industrial, commercial, and political strength of Japan behind them, the Koreans should now enter upon an epoch of civilization, for which they never could have hoped from their own initiative. With the lapse of Korea's independence, it seems to follow that the Korean Legation in Washington ceases to possess any representative authority, and, as all negotiations concerning Korea will now be conducted at Tokyo, the American Legation at Seoul appears to be useless. To what extent, however, Japan will recognize the treaties between Korea and various foreign countries remains to be seen.

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Haakon VII. Following the national plebiscite in his favor, the Norwegian Storthing, or Parliament, last week elected Prince Charles of Denmark to the throne of Norway. The Storthing sent a deputation of its members to Copenhagen, formally offering the throne, and the offer was accepted by King Christian in behalf of his grandson. The historic ceremony at the Danish palace recalled a similar event there in

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1863, when the Greek throne was offered to the King's second son, now King George of Greece. King Christian's reply to the Norwegians began as follows:

Representatives of the men of Norway! It has pleased us to accede to the desire of the Norwegian people, and to accept the ancient Crown of Norway for our dear grandson, Prince Charles. We cherish full confidence that the Norwegian people, in common with him, have a happy future in store for them. . . .

Turning to the new King and Queen, Christian IX. made an address which closed as followed:

You, my dear grandson, have here served your Fatherland and King with loyalty. Therefore I am convinced that you will enter on your new and responsible task with good intent, fill worthily your place; and your father and mother, your whole race, the land of the Danish people, and I, your old King and grandfather, will all celebrate this solemn hour with warm feelings. Go with God, my dear grandchildren, from the land and race that bore you to the land and people which have called you, and take the blessing with you of your old King, for you, your race, and your deeds, now and forever. Herewith I commend you to God.

The venerable monarch was much affected as he blessed and embraced his grandchildren, now King Haakon VII. and Queen Maud. The name was last borne by Haakon VI., who died in 1387, when the male line of the Norwegian royal house became extinct. The King's name is therefore a felicitous and appropriate choice in signifying the real continuity of the Norwegian history. The King's son has also had his name changed from Alexander to Olaf. Three days later Haakon VII., Queen Maud, and Crown Prince Olaf left Copenhagen for Christiania. Practically all Copenhagen turned out to bid them good-by and wish them well. The town and waterside were elaborately decorated, and the occasion was made a general holiday. The enthusiasm of the population was intense. The sentiment of the world was voiced by many congratulatory despatches, that of President Roosevelt being specially happy:

I felicitate your Majesty on being chosen by the Norwegian people to succeed to the throne of Haakon and Olaf, of Harald and Sigurd.

British Political Parties

Last week at Stirling, Scotland, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, leader of the Liberal party, made a notable speech in which he outlined his attitude toward home rule for Ireland. As Sir Henry is generally regarded as the probable future Liberal Prime Minister, his words were particularly noteworthy. He declared that the only way to heal the difficulties of the Irish Government and to make Ireland strong instead of weak is to give to the Irish people the management of their own domestic affairs, and he believes that the Unionists will shortly find at the polls that the "Irish bugbear" is out of date and shorn of its terrors, largely by the acts of the Unionist Government itself. He wishes to see the effective management of Irish affairs in the hands of representative Irish authority, and, if he were an Irish Nationalist, he would accept this any way he could get it. This pronouncement will be read with interest, particularly by ex-Premier Rosebery, another prominent Liberal, whose name has also been freely mentioned in connection with the premiership, but whose opinion on the Irish question is opposed to Sir Henry's. The latter also paid his respects to Premier Balfour, declaring that the Liberals would have sympathy for Mr. Balfour if only they knew what his policy was, but "no one knew if that policy was to deliver the Conservative-Unionist party from or to Mr. Chamberlain." At Bristol Mr. Chamberlain himself recently said, "Away with all lame ducks and blunt swords!" To most observers this seemed a rather pointed reference to the policy of retaliation as the "lame duck," if not, indeed, to Mr. Balfour himself. It was not surprising, therefore, that when addressing the National Union of Conservative Associations at Newcastle ten days ago, Mr. Balfour declared, "I am not afraid of the Opposition, but of my own friends." The Premier appealed to the Unionists to unite on his fiscal policy of retaliation, which does not include the taxation of imported wheat, reiterating what he had said on other occasions, that this was as far as he was prepared to go in the direction of tariff reform. On the other hand, Mr. Chamberlain had

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declared retaliation to be impossible without a general tariff, while, he added, preference to the British colonies was impracticable unless foreign wheat were taxed. Those favoring the tariff assert that this challenge to Mr. Balfour can be taken up only at the polls, a declaration in which the Liberals also agree. In the event of Mr. Balfour's resignation, which a careful review of existing circumstances indicates as the course soon to be adopted, the Liberals would hardly consent to form a ministry before Parliament is dissolved. If they did, the ministry would meet Parliament with the risk of incurring a vote of censure at the very outset from the still hostile chamber. On the other hand, with the record of continual successes at the recent by-elections, the Liberals are not unnaturally confident of their triumphant return to power after the elections. So is Mr. Chamberlain, but he is equally convinced that a Liberal Government would not last long and that then the country would turn to him and not to Mr. Balfour as its savior.

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The London Unemployed

Mr. Balfour's recent speech at the London Guild Hall, on the occasion of the Lord Mayor's banquet, was perhaps the most impressive appeal ever made in that historic place. The yearly gathering there has always been distinguished by an address from the Prime Minister setting forth actual political conditions, generally with special reference to England's foreign affairs. Few such addresses have been made in which an undertone of placid satisfaction was not evident. This year, however, surrounded by gold plate, jewels, and splendid robes, Mr. Balfour held up before an increasingly appalled audience the specter of poverty stalking abroad. While there has been a great increase in the number of men and women who are unemployed, there has been a decrease as to children, and for the saddest of reasons: a long continuance of distress does not lead to the production of children. He had just received a deputation from many thousands of the unemployed, reinforced by a procession of women, whose thin faces testified as to the genuineness of their poverty. It had been impossible, he said, for him to accept the remedies proposed by the speakers who addressed him; he could not countenance many of the notions which ignorant people advocated; the thought of the unemployed was that national workshops might be established, or that the State might find work for all those whose work is unsalable; such experiments have been tried elsewhere with disastrous results, say the protectionists; but if the State cannot provide employment directly, it can do much indirectly by keeping open the markets for industry and by opening new ones. Politicians on the tariff reform side declare that the lack of employment is convincing evidence that the country is not prosperous, and that the work which might be done at home is done abroad simply because England is still under the free-trade system. For instance, the slate workers in Wales are being asked to accept a ten per cent. reduction in wages. They must either accept this or lose their employment, because, according to the London "Times"—

> Foreign slates are coming into the country at prices lower than slates can be produced for here at the current rate of wages. The State might prevent that invasion of our home market, but it may not do anything, because to interfere would be against the sacrosanct theory of free trade.

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Parliament's Duty

However much interested politicians may endeavor to make political capital out of the issue, humanitarians who are also politicians and members of Parliament might well have demanded an autumn session. At present Parliament is not in session; if it were, it would now be easy to secure for an Unemployed Act the deliberate and serious attention needed. Not all the suggestions of the unemployed as to Government work are ill-timed; not all proceed from ignorance. Even in England it is necessary to build new roads, to develop canals, to build sea-walls, to reclaim the Wash, to protect the foreshores of the Thames. Against these experiments Mr. Balfour may quote the law of diminishing returns, and he is too clear-sighted and cautious to try any really perilous experiments. However, he may

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lose sight of the fact that an Unemployed Act is more than something actually done by it; it means something enabled to be done by it. The London "Chronicle," therefore, is likely to be as correct an exponent of public opinion as is the London "Times." In a recent issue of the former paper Mr. George Lansbury suggested five remedies which he believes would have a permanently beneficial result: (1) The establishment of farm colonies, to be developed into co-operative holdings; (2) a forty-eight hours week; (3) a minimum wage for unskilled labor throughout the country; (4) abolition of child labor; and (5) the raising of the school age to sixteen. Of course before such schemes could be put into operation legislation would be necessary, and as Parliament is now constituted they are hardly likely to be favorably received. But it may be asked, How would a forty-eight-hour week benefit the laborer if there is only enough labor for half that time? As the universal cry is for more work rather than fewer hours, some other means than the above, or than the machinery of the present Poor Law, must be invoked by English humanitarians for dealing with the questions of the unemployed. Mr. Balfour told the deputation that private charity would not be found wanting, and he was well justified in this statement, for the rapidity with which Queen Alexandra's fund for the relief of the distress of the unemployed has been carried above $400,000 is certainly a convincing proof of the force of her example. The occasion, however, is one which calls for public as well as private charity—a charity, however, which shall not secretly foster dependence and pauperism.

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The Panama Canal: Sea-Level or Lock

The board of consulting engineers of the Panama Commission have decided, by a vote of eight to five, to recommend the sea-level canal. All the foreign members of the board favored this plan, and they were joined by three of the American members. The reader will understand that this action *decides* nothing. It simply gives advice to aid the President and Congress in making a decision. To understand and properly weigh this advice, a brief recital of past history is necessary. The original plan of the De Lesseps company was for a sea-level canal, adopted, says a later French report, "under the dominating pressure, we may say, of the man who ruled its destinies," and who was, our readers may remember, not an engineer. The old company failed. The receiver of the company appointed a commission to propose new plans, and it rejected all idea of a canal without locks as impracticable under the conditions, financial and other, which necessarily determined the receiver's action. The works passed from the receiver's hands into the control of a new French company, which in turn appointed a commission of fourteen engineering experts to re-examine and advise respecting the whole undertaking. In their report, dated November, 1898, the plan for a sea-level canal was carefully considered, and unanimously rejected because it involved difficulties so great as to render it, in their judgment, impracticable. This company sold its rights and property to the United States Government; and the Isthmian Canal Commission, which had previously been appointed to consider the whole question of an interoceanic canal, including the question whether it should be constructed at Nicaragua or at Panama, reported in November, 1901, its agreement with the previous French commission in rejecting the sea-level plan. It said: "While such a plan would be physically practicable, and might be adopted if no other solution were available, the difficulties of all kinds, and especially those of time and cost, would be so great that a canal with a summit level reached by locks is to be preferred." After the Panama Canal had been purchased from the French company by the United States, a board of thirteen was appointed to consider the specific question whether the canal should be built at sea-level or with locks. This board consisted of eight American engineers and five European engineers, and represented, doubtless, the best expert engineering talent of the world. It had before it all the previous reports, and added thereto a fresh examination of conditions on the

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Isthmus. It is this last board that has now voted eight to five in favor of a sea-level canal. The reader will see from this brief history that while a majority of the advisory board favor a sea-level canal, the majority of all the engineers who have studied this subject are opposed to it, and favor a canal with locks. In favor of the sea-level canal are eight engineers of this latest board. Against it are two French commissions, one American commission, and a majority of the American engineers on the present special board of consulting engineers.

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The Engineering Problem

The majority and minority reports of the advisory board have not been published and perhaps not even written, and the surmises of Washington correspondents respecting the probable contents of such reports are not worthy of serious attention. In the absence of such publication, the grounds on which the majority and minority judgments are respectively based are not known. The fact that a majority of the American engineers favor a lock canal, while all the European engineers favor a sea-level canal, may be because the questions of cost and of time do not concern Europeans as they concern Americans. On the other hand, the facts that General H. L. Abbot, whom Secretary Taft lately characterized as "one of the greatest of American engineers," and who has made a study of the canal for years, advocates a lock canal, while Mr. William Barclay Parsons, whose engineering feat in the construction of the underground system in New York has put him at the head of the younger engineers of this country, if not of the world, advocates the sea-level plan, may indicate that the difference of opinion is one between the bolder and the more conservative school of thought. The engineering difficulty in the way of a sea-level canal lies chiefly in the control of the Chagres River. The relation of this river to the proposed canal is such that "if"—we quote from the Report of the Isthmian Canal Commission of 1901—"a sea-level canal be constructed, either the canal itself must be made of such dimensions that maximum floods, modified to some extent by a reservoir in the upper Chagres, could pass down its channel without injury, or independent channels must be provided to carry off these floods. As the canal lies in the lowest part of the valley, the construction of such channels would be a matter of serious difficulty, and the simplest solution would be to make the canal prism large enough to take the full discharge itself." General Abbot, in an article published in the "Engineering Magazine" in February, 1905, gave it as his opinion that either of these methods of disposing of the water of the Chagres River is subject to so great difficulties as not perhaps to render the construction impossible, but certainly to hazard the permanency and make difficult, if not dangerous, the operation of the canal when constructed. This difficulty would be, as we understand it, avoided by the lock canal, because such a canal would be carried at the danger point above the waters of the Chagres River. The question whether General Abbot is right in this judgment is one which must necessarily be left to experts; and if on this point they disagree, the Government must either decide the question by the weight of expert testimony or adopt the lock canal for reasons of economy.

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The Nature of the Issue as a Whole

For in solving the problem what kind of a canal we shall build to connect the Atlantic and the Pacific Oceans, it must be borne in mind that there are two classes of questions to be decided. The questions whether it is practicable to build a sea-level canal at all, and, if so, what it will cost and how much time it will take to build it; whether it is practicable to build a lock canal with locks of sufficient size to allow passage-way for our greatest men-of-war, and, if so, what it will cost to build such a canal and how much time it will take to build it; and what will be the expense and difficulty involved in operating the two systems respectively, are questions that must be left to the determination of expert engineers. When their judgment on these questions is announced, there still remains the ques-

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tion which canal the people of the United States prefer to build. If, for example, it should appear that it would cost twice as much time and money to build a sea-level canal as to build a lock canal, it will be for the people—not for the engineers—to determine whether they are willing to pay this money and wait this length of time for the supposed advantages of the sea-level over the lock canal. Nor is this question to be determined wholly by financial considerations. When the canal was to be built by a private corporation for financial profit, the decision of the corporation whether it should build a sea-level or lock canal was necessarily determined by the question whether the increased profits of the sea-level canal would pay for the increased cost of construction; but now that the canal is to be built by the Government, financial considerations may be wholly outweighed by other considerations. What is it worth to the United States to have an interoceanic canal for the speedy passage of its navy from its Atlantic to its Pacific coasts? is a question which cannot be answered in dollars. The action of the Government must be influenced, but it cannot be controlled, by the question of cost in the construction of this canal, any more than in the construction of lighthouses along the coast. To sum up the whole matter in a sentence: A majority of all the engineers who have studied the subject recommend a lock canal as preferable to a sea-level canal, while a majority of the present board of consulting engineers recommend the sea-level canal as preferable to the lock canal, but how far their recommendation is based upon economic and how far upon engineering considerations the public is not advised; and therefore the public must reserve its final judgment on the issue until the minority and majority reports are published. It should be added that all newspaper reports from Washington agree that the permanent Panama Commission, the Secretary of War, and the President, all of whom must be presumed to know the grounds of the majority and the minority reports, favor the lock canal, and it is even said that the foreign engineers will modify their vote for a sea-level canal by finally recommending a lock canal at a low level.

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Campaign Contributions from Corporations

United States Senator Thomas C. Platt testified before the Legislative Investigating Committee last week that, as a member of the Republican State Committee, he had received from the Equitable Life Assurance Society a campaign contribution of ten thousand dollars each year for at least ten years and probably for nearly twice that time. He had also received at various times, though not regularly, contributions of the same amount from the Mutual Life. His statement that these latter contributions had been made as the result of his appeals to Mr. Richard A. McCurdy, President of the Company, directly contradicted Mr. McCurdy's previous testimony before the Committee, in which the latter said, "I never heard of our making any contributions to State campaigns." As the result of a very shrewd line of questioning, Mr. Hughes succeeded in eliciting from Mr. Platt an explanation of the basis on which an insurance company would consider it worth while to make such contributions. Mr. Platt said that the companies would suppose that he, as a member of the State Committee, would be very likely to defend them at times when it was necessary, by seeing that the Legislature did not enact legislation which they thought hostile to policy-holders. He admitted further that the use of these contributions in the election of candidates to office puts the candidates more or less under a moral obligation not to attack the "interests"—that is to say, the corporations—supporting them. This frank, if somewhat cynical, explanation from a politician of such long experience in obtaining and using campaign funds, and so well versed in the proper method of returning a *quid pro quo* to the contributor, must be accepted as expert evidence of the most reliable sort. It effectually disposes of the pretense on the part of the officers of insurance companies that their contributions were made for the support of great principles, or with an eye single to the best interests of their policy-holders,

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It is a matter of common knowledge that many of the measures opposed by the insurance companies, and therefore by the legislators elected by the aid of their money, are really of a kind to advance the interests of the policy-holders, though not the interests of those engaged in exploiting the insurance companies for personal gain. If any further evidence were needed of the iniquity of allowing corporations to contribute to campaign funds, and of the imperative need of prohibiting this practice by law, Senator Platt has emphatically supplied it.

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The Ohio Election

The Outlook's report of the Ohio election has elicited some criticisms, two of which we print on another page. In enumerating the causes of the Republican defeat in that State, we enumerated the principal ones; undoubtedly there were other causes, and chief among them the one ably outlined by Dr. Chamberlain. Among other criticisms, we find the statement repeatedly made concerning pool-selling that Governor Herrick, believing that a bill legalizing pool-selling upon race-tracks could not receive a majority vote in the Legislature, promised the race-track followers that he would not veto the measure they should make. When, to his surprise, they succeeded in passing a bill, and when, after its passage, general opposition was shown throughout the State, the Governor, according to these critics, failed to keep his word. Governor Herrick vigorously denies that he ever made such a promise. Much more important and serious, however, was the liquor issue. The Outlook's placing it last in its list of causes for Republican defeat in Ohio did not indicate any judgment that it was of relative unimportance. Of all the causes leading to Governor Herrick's defeat, next to the overthrow of Coxism, the primal cause, the liquor issue was doubtless the most forceful. Over seventy local and general ecclesiastical bodies in the State adopted anti-Herrick resolutions, the result of which, so far as the Methodists are concerned, is seen in a statement of one of our correspondents: "We have in this State at least 60,000 voters in the Methodist Church, and it is a low estimate to say that 40,000 of them voted for Pattison. And at least four-fifths of the Methodists generally vote the Republican ticket." In this connection Mr. Herrick denies that he ever made any promise to saloonists or anti-saloonists, and, in especial, that he made any promise not to interfere with a local option law. On the contrary, he distinctly said that he would not approve any law unless it was sane, constitutional, and enforceable. With the exceptions above noted, on such information as, at this writing, we have been able to receive, we see no reason to modify our interpretation of the Ohio election as given a fortnight ago.

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Mr, Choate on American Commerce

Mr. Choate, in a speech last week at the Chamber of Commerce dinner in New York City, as reported in the New York "Tribune," thus stated one of our National problems and the two alternative methods proposed for its solution:

> I wish that all the members of Congress who have to vote on the question could visit the ports of Europe and Asia and Africa and South America and search for the American flag. They would find it now and then on a squadron, on a ship of war, under the command of my friend Admiral Coghlan or some of his brave assistants. They would find it now and then on a yacht. But as for its having any share in the carrying on of foreign commerce, why, all that is yet a thing of the future. Something has got to be done to restore our flag to the seas, where it belongs, and, for one, I think the voice of this Chamber will always be potent in demanding that that something shall be done. I do not know what it is to be. There I tread on dangerous ground. Some people would like to have every American entitled to the right that the Englishman enjoys of securing a ship wherever he honestly could, and putting the American flag over it. Other people can see, friends of American enterprise can see, no better use to which a part of our National treasure can be put than in supporting, by subventions and subsidies, American ships, and that they shall answer for the service of the American people. For one, I believe that these people will not be satisfied until, for the great transmission of their thousands of millions of exports and imports, they have to rely, not on the English flag, or the Dutch flag, or the Irish flag, or the Swedish flag, but upon our own Stars and Stripes.

The Outlook unhesitatingly declares for the first as against the second alternative.

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Subsidies to shipping will promote first favoritism, then corruption in government; freedom in shipping will promote enterprise and self-dependence. Subsidies will stimulate energy in getting favors from the Government; free shipping will stimulate energy in independent industry. Subsidies will draw on the pockets of the many to fill up the pockets of the few; free shipping will open the seas and markets of the world to all Americans on equal terms.

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The Carnegie Foundation

The Carnegie Foundation was organized at a recent meeting at Mr. Carnegie's house of the twenty-five trustees, all of whom, with the exception of President Harper, were present. Rarely has so distinguished a group of men in educational work been gathered in this country; twenty-two presidents of universities and colleges were in attendance, including the heads of the majority of the leading universities and colleges in the country, and of the leading technical schools. A preliminary report covering the forms of organization and the questions which must be answered before the work can be undertaken was presented by a committee previously selected by Mr. Carnegie. These questions were important and difficult of settlement, the first and fundamental one being the perplexing question, "What is a college?" There are about six hundred and fifty institutions in the United States, Canada, and Newfoundland which call themselves universities or colleges, and they range in character, endowment, and work from universities of the first class to so-called colleges which are in practice and scope only preparatory schools. In administering the income of the great Foundation which Mr. Carnegie has established for the benefit of instructors of colleges, and which is practically an addition to the endowment of every college of good rank, it will be necessary for the trustees to define sharply at the outset the kind of institution which comes within the conditions of the Foundation. The denominational distinction made in the founder's deed of gift raises difficult questions, to be settled, if the spirit of the first meeting may be taken as a guide, in a generous way. Another problem presented to the trustees was the admission of State institutions to the benefit of the Foundation—a question which Mr. Carnegie left to the determination of the administrators of the Foundation. There is not the slightest question that, so far as claims for consideration are concerned, the teachers of State universities stand on precisely the same basis as teachers in other institutions; but the question whether any other agency shall step in between the State and its institutions needs careful consideration. The task devolved by this great gift on its administrators is a most difficult and delicate one, and the paying of pensions will be the easiest part of the work. The scope of the Foundation, which is to be far-reaching, to reinforce the entire academic capital of the country and to give greater security and dignity to the teaching profession, will not be seen for many a day to come. One of the greatest services which this Foundation will render will be its contribution to the realization of educational unity.

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An International Professorship

The announcement that Mr. James Speyer, of New York, has placed in the hands of the trustees of Columbia University the sum of $50,000 to endow the Theodore Roosevelt Professorship of American History and Institutions in the University of Berlin is another evidence of the development of those relations between nations which are contributing to a larger spirit of internationalism and laying the basis for peace. The plan embodied in this professorship received the approval of the German Emperor at a conference held with President Butler last summer. By its terms nominations for the professorship will be made by the trustees of Columbia University and confirmed by the Prussian Ministry of Education, with the sanction of the Emperor, each incumbent to hold the office for one year, and the incumbents to be so chosen that in successive years the field of American history, constitutional and administrative law, economic and

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sociological problems and movements, education, contributions to science, technology, the arts and literature, will be presented with some fullness for the purpose of bringing before the German university students a conspectus of American history and institutions. The professorship will be filled by members of any American institution of learning, or by scholars not connected with academic institutions. The scheme involves also the establishment at Columbia University of a similar professorship of German history and institutions, the lectures in New York to be delivered in English. The first incumbent of the new professorship in Berlin will be Dr. Burgess, Professor of Political Science in Columbia University, who will begin his work in Berlin in the winter of 1906–7, and will take as his subject American constitutional history. It is the hope of Columbia, as expressed by President Butler, that the establishment of this professorship will lead to the establishment of similar professorships in Paris and at some English university. It will be the earnest hope of all those who discern the significance of these multiplying signs of a more fraternal feeling among the races that this interchange of professors between the Old World and the New will eventually create a body of skilled interpreters of the genius and history of different races. Readers of The Outlook have not forgotten a letter from Professor Kuno Francke, of Harvard University, which appeared in the columns of The Outlook in February last, outlining the scope and plan of the Germanic Museum of Harvard University, and the drafting of an agreement between that University and the Prussian Government providing for an interchange of professors between Harvard and Berlin Universities for a period of five years, one member of each of the two institutions entering the regular teaching staff of the other institution for at least three months. Professor Peabody, of Harvard, is now in Berlin giving a course of lectures under this arrangement. His introductory lecture, reported in these columns a few weeks ago, was attended by the Emperor and a large number of influential persons, and dealt at some length with the question of this international interchange of teachers of authority and position.

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A Federal Council of Churches

When the Inter-Church Conference on Federation adjourned last week, it left as its chief product a plan for a confederate union, not of local churches, but of denominations as such. As the Conference was composed of delegates officially representing denominational bodies, the plan, which was adopted by vote of the delegates, and which is to be submitted to the denominations represented, has passed the stage of a visionary scheme; it is a serious proposition. It means that some thirty Protestant denominations, having an aggregate of about eighteen million communicants, have actually taken a step toward organized co-operation. The plan is in the form of a constitution. It provides for a representative Council in which each denomination is to be represented by four members, and one member in addition for every fifty thousand communicants or major fraction thereof. Under certain circumstances the vote in the Council will be by the bodies represented. In other words, the Council, though a single chamber, embodies the bicameral idea, as it will vote at times as a representative assembly, at other times as a federal senate. In no case, however, is the action of the Council to be regarded as authoritative. Its function is not legislative, but merely advisory. Its object is to express the fellowship of the denominations and their common opinion on "all matters affecting the moral and social condition of the people," to unify efforts on behalf of "service for Christ and the world," and "to encourage mutual counsel concerning the spiritual life and activities of the churches." In the plan as drawn up and adopted there are named the denominations which, by ratifying the plan, may be entitled to representation in the first Council to assemble. With the exception of the Presbyterian Church South, which chose not to participate in the Conference, all the larger Protestant denominations of the United States are

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represented, and not a few of the smaller. If two-thirds of the eligible bodies subscribe to the plan, the Council may be formed. Two-thirds of the constituent bodies may then admit any other body which chooses to apply for admission. The Council is to sit in 1908, and thereafter once every four years.

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Limited Co-operation

It is unfortunate that the purpose of this federal organization, to minimize doctrinal differences, and to magnify agreement in applying "the law of Christ in every relation of human life," should have been in a measure frustrated by the organizers of the movement. In the minds of the people at large, the most important fact regarding the action of the Conference is that it excluded from participation in this confederate union the Unitarians. It is true, the Conference adopted no doctrinal test; but it omitted deliberately from the list of eligible bodies the Unitarians and the Universalists, both of whom would have gladly shared in this co-operative undertaking. It, moreover, adopted in the preamble to the plan of union a statement regarding the oneness of the churches in Christ Jesus, "as their Divine Lord and Saviour." The man who moved the insertion of the word "Divine" in this phrase explicitly contrasted efforts for "humanity" with the exaltation of "Christ and his Cross." It is not unfair, therefore, to regard this action as an attempt to establish a doctrinal basis, although as such it is plainly futile. If the action of the Conference meets with suspicion, it will not be because people generally are specially interested in the fortunes of the Unitarian denomination, but because people generally do count it important that organizations as well as individuals should square their deeds with their profession. To profess a union for "the application of the law of Christ in every relation of human life," and then to raise by implication a doctrinal barrier, strikes the common mortal not theologically trained as inconsistent. Besides, the introduction of this word "Divine" raises at once a question, as a Roman Catholic has already pointed out, as to what is meant by the divinity of Christ. This action, however, does not wholly represent the sentiment of the Conference. In the formation of such an organization it is the ecclesiastics who, by temperament, are likely to take the most pains; and it is they, therefore, who have the most influence. When President Faunce, of Brown University, in his very significant address on "Our Faith in Christ," declared that he would not care to be a candidate for any heaven from which William Ellery Channing and James Martineau were excluded, there was a round of applause that indicated the temper of at least a part of the audience. Justice David J. Brewer, of the United States Supreme Court, in his address also deprecated any attempt to monopolize "good intentions and good deeds." "I look and hope," he said, "for a federation closer than that adopted by the Conference. . . . I say that if all cannot admit the divinity of Christ, they are yet all followers of his leadership. Provided they are working for Christ, the rest does not matter." It is a pity that a movement which might have been inaugurated with sustained enthusiasm can, as now constituted, receive from many of the ablest and most earnestly loyal in the churches only that grudging support which Justice Brewer expressed thus tersely: "Perhaps it was better to take a short way than to risk failure by going too far." Happily the plan adopted leaves the further way yet open.

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Mr. Crapsey Not to be Prosecuted

Our readers will remember an article by the Rev. A. S. Crapsey, published last September, and certain replies which it elicited. Charges of heresy were brought against him, based partly on a published book, partly on conversations, and partly, we believe, on his article in The Outlook. After examination, the committee appointed for the purpose of conducting it have reported, by a vote of three to two, adversely to any prosecution for heresy. The committee hold that "certain passages in these writings were open to inferences which might rightly be deemed derogatory to the Christian faith," and they are

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unanimous in their condemnation of Mr. Crapsey's claim "to retain the spiritual realities for which Christianity stands, while dismissing as indifferent the historical facts asserted in the creeds;" but the majority do not think a prosecution for heresy advisable. Without attempting to pass judgment on either question, What is heresy? or, Is Mr. Crapsey a heretic? we think the conclusion of the committee is very wise. Once a prosecution for heresy rendered the heretic liable to be burnt; then it rendered his books liable to burning; now it simply secures for them a larger circulation and a more extended reading.

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A State Conference of Religion

The sixth annual meeting of the New York State Conference of Religion, held at Rochester November 13 and 14, was pronounced by the "Democrat and Chronicle" of that city one of the most noteworthy conventions held there. The keener public attention which recent exposures of financial and political immorality have attracted to the theme always emphasized by the Conference—religious union to invigorate and purify the moral life of society—was reflected in large audiences and sustained interest from first to last. The fundamental affirmation on which the Conference is based—"Religions are many, but Religion is one"—is made for a practical end, the drawing together of all religious men, whatever their theological differences, to make the moral government of God more dominant in conscience and in social affairs. The essential unity of religion under all its diverse forms and the moral interests of religion were discussed in the addresses. "The limits of religious fellowship are the limits of religion," was the pregnant thesis of Dr. R. H. Newton's argument. The chief religious changes, said Mrs. Eastman, of Elmira, are the substitution of principles for persons, and the growth of religious passion for the betterment of this world. Dr. Gladden, drawing a broad distinction between law-abiding and lawless wealth, declared that society cannot be safe till predatory wealth is brought to the level of the social outcast. President Raymond, of Union College, affirmed the need of "a new protestantism against the despotism of centralized economic power." That this new protestantism has begun to arrive was apparent in the general applause which greeted many an incisive remark both in the addresses and the keen discussions following. These will appear before long in the published proceedings. Jews and Protestant Christians of many denominations find increasing satisfaction in the inclusive fellowship of this Conference. The lesson they have drawn from their experience thus far is that the true approach to religious unity is in the line of the dynamic morality of Jesus, religiously intent upon its divine ideals.

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Two National Congresses

The growth of public sentiment towards a belief in the increase of Federal power is indicated significantly by two assemblages, one recently held in the South, the other called to meet next February. At the first sixteen Southern States were represented in a Conference on Quarantine and Immigration. When it is remembered how jealous, by every tradition, the Southern States are of their own powers, and how scrupulous in maintaining their own distinctive qualities and rights, the action of this Conference is evidently significant; for it has asked the Federal Congress to put the coast, maritime, and National frontier quarantine under the exclusive control of the United States Government, and to place under the jurisdiction of the United States, acting in co-operation with the various State boards, all matters of inter-State quarantine. The Conference, moreover, took action in recommending changes in the immigration law. It is a long time since the South has so explicitly identified itself with the Nation at large in the discussion of a National problem. The South has long been burdened with problems of its own; its new interest in National problems indicates, perhaps, a natural response to that movement which has of recent years turned distinctively Southern problems into problems belonging to the Nation as a whole. Another indication of the tendency to

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appreciate the common interest of various localities in common problems is the call issued by Governor Pennypacker, of Pennsylvania, for a Conference of the several States on the subject of divorce legislation. The Governor has sent a personal letter to the Governor of every State in the Union asking him to appoint delegates to this Conference, and it is hoped that when the Conference assembles in Washington next February all the States will be represented. Already thirty-four of the forty-five Governors have promised to co-operate.

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A Legislative Scandal in California

When the California Legislature met last January, there was gossip to the effect that certain building and loan associations were being grossly mismanaged. Attention was particularly called to the affairs of the Continental Building and Loan Association, the officers of which were prominent in Democratic politics and opposed to Mr. Hearst's Presidential aspirations. The Senate appointed a committee of seven on Building Associations. A majority of the committee consisted of Senators Bunker, Emmonds, French, and Wright. These four, according to the testimony of one of their number, who subsequently turned State's evidence, after conviction, determined upon a plan whereby, if the Association investigated would "put up" liberally, it should be whitewashed. They selected a man named Jordan to approach the officers of the Continental Association and ascertain what they were willing to do to stop the investigation. The officers professed to be willing to do the fair thing, but quietly prepared a trap to catch the four Senators. The sum of $1,400 was agreed upon as the price to be paid. The officers hired detectives and marked the bills which were to be paid to the boodlers. The money was turned over to Jordan, the go-between. The detective carefully watched Jordan, and claimed to have seen him pay the money to three of the four Senators. To satisfy the clamor for investigation, the committee proceeded to summon witnesses. The officers of the Association refused to respond to the subpœna, and were cited to appear to answer for contempt. They appeared before the Senate, and there accused the four Senators of receiving and soliciting bribes. A special committee was appointed to investigate the charges. Jordan confessed his complicity, and stated that he had paid each Senator $350. The special committee refused to allow the accused Senators to testify under oath, owing to the clause in the law which exempts a person who testifies in a case of bribery from further punishment. The committee reported the accused to be guilty, and recommended their expulsion from the Senate, which was unanimously done. The Grand Jury of Sacramento County shortly after found indictments against the Senators, and the first case—that against Bunker—was tried and the Senator convicted. In October Senator Emmonds was tried and convicted, and the trial of the other two Senators will be held shortly.

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The Rate Regulation Bill

The Washington correspondents state that the Inter-State Commerce Committee of the Senate have already practically agreed to report a Railway Rate Regulation Bill in general harmony with the President's views, and that there will probably be legislation on this subject at the approaching session of Congress. It is, therefore, an appropriate time for The Outlook to restate the principles which, in its judgment, should be embodied in such legislation. It should be founded on three fundamental principles, which the experience of the past has put beyond the possibility of successful dispute in the present.

First: The railways are not private property; they are public highways privately administered. The Government should, therefore, see to it that they are administered in the interest of the public.

Second: Where combination is possible, competition is impossible. Combination is possible among the railways. Therefore Government should cease its attempt to compel competition.

Third: The evil of present railway management is not excessive rates but

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unequal rates. The object of legislation should be, not lower rates, but equal rates.

Founded upon these principles, the legislation should seek to secure the following results:

I. Pooling should not be prohibited. The railways should not be forbidden to combine, but encouraged to combine. Their right to combine should be recognized by law; their contracts in combination should be enforceable by the courts.

II. Their rates, whether made individually or in combination, should be subject to Governmental revision. For this purpose some department of Government should have authority not only to declare authoritatively that a rate is unjust, but also what rate should be substituted therefor.

III. The cost and delay of legal proceedings prohibit recourse to the courts by the small shipper. Therefore the rate fixed by the Government should go at once into effect, and the cost and delay of proceedings by appeal to the courts should be put upon the railways.

IV. Certain fundamental principles should be determined by Congress for the guidance of the department in determining what are just rates.

It should re-enact the "long and short haul" clause, prohibiting any railway from charging more for a shorter than for a longer haul on the same line and between the same termini. The exceptions which the courts have recognized to this rule have practically nullified the rule. We doubt whether the law ought to recognize any exceptions.

As there should be no favoritism between shippers, so there should be none between localities. The same principles in rate regulation should apply to all sections, as to all individuals.

There should be a difference between wholesale and retail rates. But Government should determine what is the unit of measure by which to determine what is entitled to wholesale rates. Is it the car-load or the train-load?

All carrying companies should be brought under the same general rule, whether railways, express companies, despatch companies, or private car companies.

V. The books of the railways should be open to examination by Government examiners appointed for that purpose, as are now the books of the National banks.

VI. Passengers as well as shippers should be protected. All railway accidents should be reported to a Government bureau; every serious accident should be investigated by the Government and the responsibility for it officially determined and publicly declared.

Other provisions should be enacted for the protection of stockholders and employees. We are here concerned only with provisions for the protection of the general public.

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Readjustments in Europe

Since the beginning of the war between Russia and Japan signs of unrest and agitation in diplomatic circles in Europe have multiplied on every side, and have furnished another and striking evidence of the great and radical changes which have come into the world in consequence of the appearance of Japan among Powers of the first order. Those changes are only beginning to make themselves felt. The practical destruction of the aggressive power of Russia, and the disclosure of her extraordinary weakness, not only in the army but in every department of the governmental life, and the breaking down of her economic and social system, will eventually compel a realignment of nations of the first and second rank abroad. The old order has gone; the new order is just beginning to define itself. It was a master-stroke of policy, to say nothing of far-seeing statesmanship, on the part of England to form a new alliance with Japan at the very moment when Russia ceased to be a great Power and Japan took her place among the active forces of the world. The alliance of these two nations gives them, in their combined navies, a preponderance of power in the Far East, and assures protection alike to the little island which has made so extraordinary a history during the last twenty years and to English interests in Asia.

This alliance is reinforced in the

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West by an adjustment of the differences between England and France, and the establishment of relations between the two countries which are not only friendly, but promise to become intimate. This practical co-operation of England with both France and Japan means a realignment of Powers in Europe and a new departure in the Far East, where for the first time an Oriental Government is placed on a par with the Occidental Governments, and the right of the East to be consulted in all matters relating to its own affairs is acknowledged.

Under the old system France and Russia formed one great group; Germany, Austria, and Italy another; while England was kept in what was happily called "splendid isolation." The dual alliance has not yet been formally annulled; Russia and France are still on good terms; but Russia no longer counts as an effective force to be used in time of emergency. Not only is she crippled beyond immediate repair in military power, but no one knows what a day will bring forth in the way of governmental changes of the most radical character. Her disappearance as a power to be reckoned with would have left France without an available ally had she not been swift to take advantage of the English feeling toward her; at the same time it has removed one great element of danger from Germany. Formerly that country had two frontiers to protect, and could never for a moment forget that a great Power stood in readiness for invasion just outside her eastern limit. That danger is past, and Germany is in a position of greater freedom from apprehension of a serious kind than she has been since the close of the war with France. On the other hand, the alliance of England with France and Japan leaves Germany practically in a position of isolation; for Italy is not to be counted on for efficient support, and Austria is in such a condition that the death of a single man may precipitate the dismemberment of the Empire. Moreover, Italy has always had a strong sentimental regard for France, which the irritations of the past few years have not destroyed, and the feeling between the two countries is so warm that it is doubtful if in any event Italy could be brought in line in an active movement against France.

These facts explain the recent harassing diplomatic activity of the Emperor William, who is not content to be left in isolation, and who is naturally irritated by the friendly relations between France and England, and still more by the alliance between England and Japan. His speech in Tangiers was a formal announcement that Germany could not be ignored, and that any attempt to manage the affairs of the world without taking him into consultation would be doomed, if not to failure, at least to very serious check on his part. The question is, What can he do? There are many things which give credence to the belief, widely held in England, that the Emperor made an adroit but unsuccessful attempt to break up the cordial relationship between that country and France. It is difficult to imagine any circumstances at present which would tempt the French to exchange the present friendship with England for a prospective friendship with Germany. There is no question of the genuine warmth of feeling between the two countries separated by the English Channel, which for so many centuries fought against each other; nor is there any question, either, about the lingering resentment of the French toward the Germans as a result of the loss of Alsace-Lorraine. That resentment is, fortunately, dying; it is not strong enough to incite active antagonism; but it is powerful enough, and it is likely to be for years to come, to prevent anything approaching intimacy between the two countries. There is good reason to believe, moreover, that England is making a serious effort to establish friendly relations with Russia. At the same time German interests in that country are great, and the proximity of Germany will make the friendship of that country desirable to the new Russia. The probabilities are that, in her present condition and for years to come, the obvious policy of Russia will be to keep on friendly terms with both countries, but without committing herself to definitive alliance; and if Count Witte is to

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be counted the controlling force of the Russia of the future, it is in every way probable that, while that country will stand in the friendliest attitude toward Germany, it will do nothing to alienate English support and friendship. The situation is an interesting one. Its final developments cannot be foreseen, but, fortunately, they are likely to make for peace.

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The Torrey-Alexander Mission

Now that the Torrey-Alexander Mission is about to be commenced in this country, it is desirable for ministers and churches to acquaint themselves beforehand with its character and the prospects it offers of usefulness. Mr. Davis's history[1] of the remarkable series of revival meetings held by Messrs. Torrey and Alexander during the last two and a half years in Australasia and in England will be useful for this purpose, but it is far from satisfactory. The work of these evangelists was sharply criticised by men whose Christian consecration cannot be doubted. Mr. Davis gives no hint of such criticisms. His survey is wholly uncritical and eulogistic. Nor does he give any account of practical results. The numbers that attended the meetings and that "confessed Christ" are reported, but what has been the practical effect on the churches and on the saloons, whether it has permanently strengthened the former and weakened the latter, we are not told. Dr. Torrey and Mr. Alexander have conducted a series of remarkable meetings, and they have been characterized by great emotional interest; but what has been their permanent ethical effect? The revivals conducted by Dr. Finney were followed by higher standards of honesty in business, purity in public affairs, temperance in personal life. And he left as a monument of his labors at least two great churches and one great university, largely due to his spiritual power. Mr. Moody left as a monument of his labors a great church, a continuous summer conference whose inspiring influence is testified to by hundreds, and two schools of permanent educational value. It may be too soon to look for similar fruits of Mr. Torrey's ministry. But it is not too soon to ask whether it gives any promise of such fruits. And this question Mr. Davis does not answer; he does not seem even to have asked it of himself.

Dr. Torrey and Mr. Alexander are the successors of Mr. Moody and Mr. Sankey. The one preaches, the other sings. Dr. Torrey's education has been greatly superior to that of Mr. Moody. He is a graduate of Yale and has studied theology in Germany. It is stated that he at first accepted the new theology and the new criticism—how understandingly is not made clear—and that he has now rejected them both. But he has done so, not to move on to a more mystical faith, but to come back to one more traditional, conventional, literalistic. "I preach," he says, "the whole Bible from cover to cover. I accept everything; except nothing. I preach the power of the Blood of Jesus Christ to save—the doctrine of the atonement. I preach the personality of the Holy Spirit. I preach the power of prayer." Exactly what these phrases mean we are not sure, for Mr. Davis in his sketchy biography gives no sermon and no interpretative definitions from any sermon of Dr. Torrey. But what Dr. Torrey means by the power of prayer is illustrated by the following incident, narrated by Mr. Davis with unmistakable approval, in the life of Dr. Torrey's associate, Mr. Alexander:

> I prayed the Lord that he would help me choose a good suit of clothes, and lead me to the right pattern. I was asking him to take the lead in the least little detail of my every-day life as I had never done before. We went through the rolls of cloth, and, of course, my eye settled on the best roll in the lot. I inquired its price. The tailor said, "A suit in that cloth would be $40." I said, "Then it's no use talking about that one." We went along, and each piece of cloth seemed to be unsuitable, and finally the man turned to me and said, "You liked that first piece better than any, didn't you?" I said, "Yes." "Well," he said, "there was a man came in here and had a suit made of that cloth, but it didn't quite fit him, and he was not pleased with it. It is a new suit—never

[1] *Torrey-Alexander: The Story of a World-wide Revival. A Record and Study of the Work and Personality of the Evangelists R. A. Torrey, D.D., and Charles M. Alexander.* By George T. Davis. The Fleming H. Revell Company, New York.

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been worn. If it should fit you, I will let you have it for $18." We tried it on, and it fitted me exactly, with the exception that the trousers had to be shortened a little; so I had $2 left for ties and collars. Thus I learned a lesson that I have never forgotten—that God answers prayer for temporal things as well as for things spiritual.

We select this incident out of many because it illustrates the supreme objection that devout souls feel for the Torrey-Alexander movement. This is not that the theology is irrational—though a skeptic cannot well avoid wondering why, if God furnished the clothes, he could not furnish trousers that were not too short. It is not that this experience is one of too great faith. It lacks faith; assumes that full-grown men are four-year-old children who have to be fitted to their clothes by God. It is not that it assumes that God can and sometimes does give material blessings in answer to prayer. But it puts the emphasis on material things, and so develops or tends to develop an unmanly, undivine, irresponsible character, and a low, material, unspiritual, and almost sordid conception of religious experience. It comes dangerously near falling into the same category with the commercial prayer of Jacob: "If God will be with me, and will keep me in this way that I go, and will give me bread to eat and raiment to put on, so that I come again to my father's house in peace, *then* shall the Lord be my God." The spiritual difference between such a prayer as this and that of Jesus Christ recorded in the seventeenth chapter of John or that of Solomon in his dedication of the Temple is immeasurable.

It is right to state thus clearly and distinctly, though in no hostile spirit, the objections that have led many spiritually minded men and women to feel a protest against the Torrey-Alexander Mission which they have often been reluctant to utter. They object not chiefly that its methods often violate good taste, nor that its theology often antagonizes the reason. Their chief objection is neither rationalistic nor æsthetic, but spiritual. They object to any religious ministry which substitutes conventional phrases for spiritual realities; which regards belief in the inerrancy of a book as equivalent to a living faith in the living truths of which that book is an interpreter; which treats redemption as getting out of hell into heaven—that is, out of horrible pain into celestial pleasure; which teaches any man to think himself "saved" unless his character is transformed; which recognizes any other test of that transformation than Christ's test, "By their fruits ye shall know them;" which puts any value whatever on great meetings and waves of emotional excitement, except as they lead to higher and holier living; which honors as religious any experiences unless they leave behind them the churches strengthened, the sources and springs of vice weakened, and higher standards of honesty in business, public spirit in politics, purity in society, and love in the home. In short, literalism, conventionalism, and emotionalism are not the marks of the Christian religion. In so far as they characterize any movement, that movement is not toward the kingdom of Christ.

There are certain characteristics in Dr. Torrey's spirit and methods which the Christian minister can study to great advantage. His devotion to his work, his courage of conviction, his resoluteness of purpose, his directness of address, his real faith in the spiritual presence of the living Christ, may well be emulated by men who could never adopt his sensational methods, his conventional phrases, his literalism in interpretation, and his materialized conceptions of the kingdom of God. The counsel which Mr. Davis reports him as giving to converts would be good counsel for any pastor to give in any church:

> Keep looking on Jesus. If you are puzzled what to do, look at Jesus and think what he would do.
>
> Keep confessing Jesus. Show whose side you are on at your own church or chapel, in your office—everywhere.
>
> Keep studying your Bible—at least fifteen minutes every day.
>
> Keep praying. Take plenty of time to pray.
>
> Go to work. The more you work for Christ the more you will enjoy it.
>
> Find some church, chapel, mission, or assembly, and join it. And be faithful to it.

The phraseology of this exhortation is conventional, but the spirit is sincere, the appeal is direct, the underlying doc-

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trine is spiritually true, and the counsel is practical and wise. If this is typical of Dr. Torrey's message, the Torrey-Alexander Mission might be welcomed as a powerful agent for the higher life in America, if it were accompanied by a rational theology, a spiritual faith, and a direct practical application of truth to character and conduct. But, judging from Mr. Davis's account, these characteristics are wanting. We therefore counsel the churches and the ministry, so far as our influence extends, to study its methods, but to be cautious in giving to it their indorsement and support.

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Mark Twain at Seventy

If seventy years meant now what it did in Shakespeare's time, when John of Gaunt was "Old Gaunt" at forty, it would be incredible that Mark Twain has seen the full round of threescore years and ten. But age, which seems once to have been absolute, is now relative; and if we cannot accept without reservation the French axiom that a woman is as old as she looks, we need not hestitate to accept its correlative that a man is as old as he feels. The author of "The Adventures of Tom Sawyer" has had his full share of the sorrow of life, and knows something of its tragedy; for humor and pathos are never far apart in a stage of being which is deeply and divinely humorous in the fundamental contrast between its occupations and its destiny, and pathetic beyond words in the contrast between what it longs for and what it attains. But if there have been shadows on the career of a man to whom nature has given the indestructible youth of humor, there has been sunshine of a warmth and fertilizing power known only to those who can read between the lines.

Mark Twain is to-day much the most widely read American man of letters; his most characteristic books are to be had in many languages, and his name is familiarly spoken by peoples to whom the names of Emerson and Hawthorne bring no associations; and the reasons for this really world-wide fame are not far to seek. A good deal of the writing in this country has been characterized by refinement of feeling, delicacy of touch, and a marked idealist tendency, or by accurate observation, good taste, and a scholarly style. Few of our writers have struck original notes and conveyed a powerful impression of a new order of life. This is precisely what Mark Twain has done. His work is very uneven in interest and form; some of it is distinctly slovenly and lacking in spontaneity, with grave defects not only of conventional but of fundamental taste; but much of it is fresh, vivid, original, and of a quality not yet fully appreciated by cultivated Americans. Mark Twain belongs, fortunately not only for his foreign but for his future reputation, not with the writers of culture, but the writers by impulse of nature and gift of God. He lives where Lincoln lived, in the rich soil of the common life; and he has had the good fortune to deal with life in primary rather than in secondary terms—the happy chance to know a great mass of broadly significant human experience, and to deal with it freely and boldly after the manner of original writers. One can imagine with what pleasure Emerson, who was not afraid of men in their shirt-sleeves, and divined the stuff of which art is made in its crudest forms, would have read that fascinating humorous epic, "Life on the Mississippi," which, with "The Adventures of Tom Sawyer" and "The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn," are likely to be kept with the real books from American hands two or three centuries hence, when a whole world of well-bred, scholarly, and cultivated writing will long have passed into that oblivion which awaits everything except life expressed in terms of beauty, freedom, humor, and power.

And when Mark Twain's friends gather to do him honor, they will not forget that in a crisis in his affairs he held himself, not simply to legal obligations, but to that sense of honor in dealings between men which is beyond honesty. A man of original gifts, of a marked personality, and of unique reputation, Mark Twain showed himself a man of courage and honor in one of those experiences which test men as by fire.

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The Spectator

"Presented by Theodore Roosevelt, 1904," said the shining brass tablet under the two stags' heads on the paneled wall. All across the high shelf above, a glittering row of samovars and flagons, bowls and pots of brass and copper, bore picturesque testimony to good housewifery in the little East Side restaurant. The tablecloth was darned, but spotlessly clean; the band of three pieces played "Träumerei" most creditably; the dinner at twenty-five cents—"thirty with poultry," was astonishingly eatable. There were "kosher rooms" upstairs, as the placard at the entrance proclaimed; but those who were not Hebrews congregated in this downstairs room. Half a square away was busy Grand Street, thronged as usual with its Saturday night crowds. The restaurant was full, too. "At first," explained the manager to the Spectator, evidently pleased by his interest, "this building was meant as a sort of charity to the people. But that did not succeed. They did not use it. Now it is just a business proposition, and there is no trouble in making it pay." The East Side has its own sturdiness of feeling, and wants to pay for its own pleasures quite as much as Fifth Avenue.

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After dinner the Spectator and his friends strolled leisurely and by devious ways to the hall of the Educational Alliance, where they were to see Ben Greet's company present "Twelfth Night" to the East Side lovers of the drama. Down the street, dodging the trolley-cars and skirting the torn-up gas mains, rattled a buggy driven by a young man in a silk hat, with a fox-terrier beside him barking impartially at all creation. From the back of the seat hung a placard,

HOW ABOUT JEROME
WE WON

and laughter and applause followed this result of some election wager. One of the Spectator's party wished to see Mr. Jerome's home in Rutgers Street after this, and accordingly that interesting thoroughfare was hunted up. "What is that sign?" queried she, as they passed a small shop in a basement. "It isn't Yiddish, nor Russian, nor Greek, nor Chinese, nor Arabic, like the rest we have passed on the last two blocks. I believe the Tower of Babel must have been located about here." The sign was Hungarian, it proved; but its meaning was made plain without words by the lengths of carpet festooned in front of the shop, flapping in the wind. The East Side, probably on account of its multiplicity of tongues, and its equal multiplicity of people who do not read or write any language whatever, is given to a sign language, literally, of its own. When an East Sider sells carpets, he hangs some out to show it; and it all helps to make his street more picturesque.

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District Attorney Jerome's sign is in English, with its announcement of office hours, even at these residence quarters, from seven to nine; but it also has the same thing in Yiddish beneath. Yiddish is, after all, the paramount language on the East Side; and in the audience at the Educational Alliance the proportion of Gentiles was not large, the Spectator noticed. In the hall of the Alliance building a placard counseled all who passed by it, "*Learn to know and to understand America.*" Every day in the year, on the average, the Spectator happens to know, six thousand men, women, and children enter the building and take part in its activities. "In ten years," he was told lately, "the solid stone steps here were literally worn out by the feet of those who came, and new steps had to be put in last year." To give American ideals and American opportunities to these thronging comers is a marvelous undertaking, and needs nearly five hundred workers constantly doing their best.

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The proof of this was in the play. The Spectator had the pleasure of hearing the Ben Greet players last winter in Boston before a typical Boston audience. Miss Matheson played a leading part, and her golden voice and lovely art were something to remember. Yet, for all that, "Twelfth Night" at the Alliance,

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without Miss Matheson, and with, indeed, a most inadequate Viola, was an incomparably more interesting dramatic occasion. "Doesn't it seem to you," whispered one of the Spectator's companions after the first act, looking about into the faces, young and old, of the crowd that filled every inch of the hall, "as if it were a Shakespeare audience as well as a Shakespeare play? I mean, Shakespeare wrote for the public, and the Elizabethan public wasn't always able to read and write, and lived under rude conditions. I have heard that Mr. Greet especially enjoys playing here, and that the company say it inspires them far more than the regulation Mendelssohn Hall uptown audience."

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It certainly looked that way. Play and audience reacted one upon the other. There was a freedom, an enjoyment, up and down the aisles, to begin with, that uptown theaters know nothing of. A pretty dark-eyed Rebecca stood in the aisle and flirted openly with the youth who acted as usher, with a scarlet ribbon worn proudly across his breast as a badge of office. Instead of going out between the acts, people visited, stood up and chatted in groups, and had, altogether, a much more social time than boxholders at the opera. All about the Spectator, back row and front row, people entered cordially into conversation with him. One man explained why scenery was used. "Mr. Greet did not understand," he said, "that we had this scenery. He will bring his own stage setting next time, but to-night he has to use these scenes. He does not like them." There is no doubt that the proper bareness of a true Ben Greet presentation was somewhat interfered with by the frankly commonplace interior and garden scenery which the hall afforded. But the audience was not critical. What they wanted was the play.

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If Viola had been finely acted, the effect upon such an assemblage would have been worth studying. As it was, the crowd showed its discrimination by ignoring the romantic beauties of "Twelfth Night" to a great extent, giggling openly at the sentimental Olivia and concentrating on the comic interest. In response, the actors did practically the same thing. Malvolio, Maria, Sir Toby, Andrew Aguecheek, and the Clown were applauded to the echo, and threw themselves with unction into the frolic. Was it so, the Spectator wondered, in the Globe Theater, when a boy took the part of Viola, and bear-baitings went on near by on the Surrey shore? The sea-captain, too—was his impassioned fidelity to Sebastian one of the best climaxes of the performance at the Globe? It was so on the East Side, which gave Orsino's exquisite speeches only a languid attention in contrast. How even the children—and it was a family affair, that audience—laughed over Malvolio's reading of the letter, and Sir Toby's by-play! The mirth was uproarious whenever Sir Andrew Aguecheek made a point, and reached its climax in his duel with Viola and the interruption of the drinking-bout by Malvolio. A more responsive audience, in these scenes, the Bard of Avon never saw.

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Yet whether many of them knew anything about Shakespeare was an open question. The Spectator had half dreaded to see an audience of teachers and children, and even hear the turning of leaves, as at remembered uptown performances by Bernhardt and Duse. But though teachers were manifestly present here and there, and plenty of children, as aforesaid, the Spectator saw only three books within his range of vision, and any number of absorbed faces instead, manifestly unconscious of anything but the play, and ignorant of what was to happen next in the story. "Isn't it encouraging," said one of the party, as they came out among the crowd into the dinginess of East Broadway, "to feel how really great things belong to everybody, and that Shakespeare cannot be cornered by the cultured? And did you ever see Shakespeare more sympathetically, more through the eyes of others, than to-night? I'm sure the Educational Alliance has educated me this evening, for one." Which was just what the Spectator felt, too.

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A Triumph of the People

The Story of the Downfall of the Political Oligarchy in Philadelphia

By George Woodward, M.D.

Dr. Woodward has been a member of the Executive Committee of Philadelphia's Reform Committee of Seventy, a member of the City party's Campaign Committee, and a member of the City Council. His opportunities for observing the malign influence of corrupt municipal politics have been exceptional, and his position in the reform movement in Philadelphia has enabled him to describe its operations with true perspective.—THE EDITORS.

THERE appeared in the "Atlantic Monthly" for October, 1901, an unvarnished picture of "The Ills of Pennsylvania." Written by "A Pennsylvanian," it revealed a disgraceful state of public affairs. Many Pennsylvanians already were familiar with the situation, but no one had before so bluntly told the story. "Philadelphia is the most native born and the most evil large city in America. In the long run, the politician is a correct representative of the people. If Mr. Quay ever reduces the lessons of his experience into a Confucian book of maxims, the first will be, 'Every man has his price.' For carload lots f. o. b. at Baltimore to serve as repeaters in Philadelphia, $1 per head; for a respectable business man and church official to lend the dignity of his name to a Quay meeting, a reduced assessment on his property or a franchise to a company of which he is a director; for a socially ambitious *nouveau riche*, the appointment of his son as undersecretary of a foreign legation." The article was widely read and quoted, but no one undertook to dispute the statements or condone our ills except one Philadelphian. This erudite historian fell upon the author with his antiquarian and somewhat rusty pen, proving that his cousin, Senator Quay, was descended from Mad Anthony Wayne, that he was the peer of Webster and Clay, and therefore there were no ills. This judicial paper was interesting but not conclusive. As a matter of fact, most of us were so prostrated by the truth of the charges made against us that we saw no adequate answer to the "Pennsylvanian," and preserved a thoughtful silence.

We are now relieved of the influence of Mr. Quay, and that his example may not be followed is the desire of the people of this Commonwealth. The machine that Simon Cameron invented was brought to such perfection by the late Senator that it seemed to run itself, or at most a few pushes on the patronage button, a decisive conversation on the long-distance telephone, or a telegram from Florida kept the machine going. This wonderful machine, furnished ultimately with power by the reverence in Pennsylvania for all things Republican, was operated by the late Senator without noise, very little bad odor, and no jarring sensation to the public mind, unless some untutored, simple-minded patriot got in the way of the operator. Such a misguided patriot was silently, secretly despatched, and his body hung out to dry on the political highway, an object-lesson to all young men with political ambitions. For three generations no man could achieve an honorable political ambition. He must bow the knee to Baal. There have been many priests of Baal in these three generations. I will cite a modern instance. The District Attorney of Philadelphia, a man honorable in instinct and practice, elected to prosecute evil-doers, declared at a public political dinner that he recognized his debt of gratitude to the political machine that elected him, and whenever the issue arose between his duty to the people and his gratitude to the machine he would resign his office rather than injure the machine. The natural result of this blighting rule of Quayism became apparent to every thinking man. "Win By Pull" was the motto of Penn-

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sylvania not only in political but in every walk of life. An indifference to civil duties, a spirit of *nil admirari*, hardened the reader of political scandals in the press, until he came to regard their occurrence as a matter of news to be glanced at after the more absorbing topics of finance and athletics. Any reference to such scandal provoked only the cynical remark that it was the game of politics.

In 1904 the Municipal League, after leading many forlorn hopes against the intrenched Organization, gave up the ghost, but in dying the League saluted a new-born child of reform, the Committee of Seventy. New men were persuaded to organize this committee. An excellent "plan" was drawn up by a small committee and submitted to an enthusiastic mass-meeting. In accordance with the "plan," an executive committee of nine was appointed by the chairman of the new movement (a Quaker, by the way), and a still hunt for the Seventy began. This hunt consumed weeks of time. Many prominent citizens of Philadelphia were in sympathy with the effort, and many would give money. They agreed that the political situation was deplorable, but a refusal to serve was the general conclusion. These gentlemen had great business interests of their own, or they had duties to great corporations, or they were counsel for corporations, or they were owners of real estate. There was a very general dread of what would happen to them if they were identified with the cause of reform. There were, however, enough exceptions to this rule to make up a very respectable company of seventy citizens. The financial support was decidedly greater than the League had ever been able to obtain. The "plan" recommended the formation of a political party as the last resort, but by the irony of fate it promptly became the first. The Committee of Seventy became sponsor for the City party. A city ticket for the minority magistrates and ward tickets for Councilmen were nominated, and their names placed upon the ballot by petition. The campaign was very short. The machine took the scalps of the City party men at the February election in true Philadelphia style. The machine leaders had a little fun out of it, however, by making their organization do a fancy "stunt" in turning over to the Democratic minority candidates a sufficient number (about 50,000) of Republican votes to insure the overthrow of the upstart City party. The leaders then departed in their private cars to Florida.

The sense of power and the love of money had begotten in the leaders a blind disregard for the rights of the poor old public. The public be—considered last, to put it mildly, was their chronic attitude. They saw a golden opportunity for their own pockets in forcing the United Gas Improvement Company (the lessee of the city gas works) and the unwilling and unconsulted public to consummate a bargain. The bargain was altogether in favor of the gas company—the people to pay the piper until 1981, when their grandchildren might have the works again. The slumbering, indifferent public suddenly awoke to their rights and to their wrongs. Ballot frauds had not roused them. Protected vice had not roused them. The prosecution against the ballot frauds, manfully undertaken by the Democratic lawyers' committee, stirred the people very little. The raids of the Law and Order Society, whose very existence was a satire upon the administration of our city, stirred the people somewhat; but when these agencies for a better order of affairs failed to rouse the easy-going masses of our voters, the unexpected, or at least the unheroic, happened. In the classic phrase of an organization ward leader, "Gas done it." The sensitive "pocket nerve" was touched, and the people became patriotic. The month of May, 1905, will always be famous in Philadelphia history. Then arose a continuous performance upon the stage of public affairs. The curtain rolled down on the farce of many years, and melodrama held the boards. The Mayor had been cursed by the profane on one hand, and prayed for by the devout on the other. Answering the prayers of the devout, he suddenly became the hero of melodrama. He dismissed his two bad Directors—Public Safety and Works. The bad Directors were turned out one day amid great applause of the populace. The next day

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they were in office again—helped there, according to the populace, by a bad machine judge. The very next day they were thrown out again, this time by the greatest exponent of the law—the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court—and the good Directors reoccupied the seats of the mighty.

After enjoying this melodrama, the audience became vindictive and demanded tragedy. Put the rascals in jail! Down with the gang! cried the excited audience. The public that had forgotten the ballot frauds, that had condoned the system of protected vice, now demanded vengeance for the sin of stealing. The star of all the cast appeared. This mighty tragedian made arrests among the grafters. The evil-doers trembled. There was standing room only in the playhouse. The Mayor was cheered by vast crowds of admiring citizens. The staid old Quaker city was turned upside down. The Committee of Nine called a mass-meeting at the Academy of Music to protest against the leasing of the gas works. The resolutions adopted rang so clear a challenge to the deal that in a few days the hated lease was withdrawn in a letter of the President of the United Gas Improvement Company to the City Councils, affirming his belief, however, in the blessings of the lease to the people of Philadelphia. Every one was delighted excepting the very bad city leaders. No one was more relieved than the Councilmen who had been between the devil of the organization and the deep sea of public wrath. Conservative Philadelphia had become radical in what seemed to be the twinkling of an eye. A boss-ridden city, "corrupt and contented," the reproach of all the land, had declared a new independence.

The city leaders began to read the handwriting on the wall. The Republican City Committee, the supreme masters of all our political fates, was in distress. They had nominated a select band of the faithful for the county offices, but after the outburst of popular wrath over the gas lease the leaders wished to improve their ticket. Some of their candidates flatly refused to quit. In this awkward situation the leaders turned to their more reputable followers. Certain members of the Union League Club, who either confused the party of Lincoln with the party of Philadelphia contractors or hoped to gratify some personal ambition by obliging the puissant machine, rescued the City Committee from their predicament. The Committee of Twenty-one conferred with the three most sagacious members of the City Committee, and after much united effort the whole ticket, so unanimously nominated a few months before, retired in favor of a brand-new set of candidates, irreproachable in personal character. Even this highly moral ticket did not appease the righteous indignation of the people. With grim determination they prepared for the struggle in November. The feeble foster-child of the Committee of Seventy began to grow and wax strong. All summer long the City party leaders were at work organizing the eleven hundred divisions of the forty-two wards. It was a great task for amateurs, but the volunteers were many, and by untiring zeal, high intelligence, and unselfish devotion, the partial organization of February was completed throughout the city. It was very truly a people's party. No disgruntled politician dictated its policy. The people remembered the former reform parties wrecked from within by treacherous allies, and preferred to chance blunders rather than to be betrayed by professional politicians.

A successful primary election was held in September. Delegates uninstructed by any one met in convention, and after a full and free discussion nominated their choice of men for the county offices. It was a new and inspiring spectacle in Philadelphia. From the convention hall the delegates marched in procession to the City Hall. The Mayor pledged himself to support the ticket, and the campaign began in earnest. Earnestness, indeed, is the best description of the campaign. The speakers had plenty of facts to tell their audiences, without recourse to things amusing. It was a plain question of morals, and no time for campaign humor. The newspapers, with one lonely exception, supported the party of the people vigorously, and no man who could read or who would think was left in doubt con-

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cerning the questions at stake. Before the actual campaign and during its progress the attorney for the Committee of Seventy was prosecuting election frauds of the February election, until the District Attorney's office had a file of some ninety cases for trial.

The progress of the campaign seemed marked by the hand of Providence. The machine leaders made all the blunders. A strange fatality attended their efforts to arrest the tide of public opinion. Their huge signboards and their huge advertising spaces in all the newspapers were devoted to their only argument, viz.: Wanamaker and Gordon are back of the Mayor; Wanamaker is a disappointed reformer, Gordon wants to put us all in jail: don't let Wanamaker and Gordon run this town. That was all they had to say, and it cost them thousands of dollars to spread this precious truth among the heathen voters. The money paid to the "North American" for this advertising was presented by that newspaper to the Committee of Seventy to aid in the prosecution of political criminals. The money paid to the "Record" for the machine advertising was presented by that newspaper to the Home for Incurables, on the ground that it was hopelessly tainted. The "Press" declined absolutely to receive any of the machine advertisements. Another fiasco was the effort of the Councilmanic Investigation Committee to lift the lid of police scandal and show the Mayor and his new Director of Public Safety in their true and awful light. At the first meeting of the Committee the Superintendent of Police was called upon to testify, and, to the consternation of the probers, told the story of police scandal under the former machine Director. As they say in France, "it was to laugh." A more lame and impotent attempt at investigation has rarely been seen.

On the other hand, the City party leaders made no mistakes of any moment. One or two speakers made rash statements in the heat of the campaign, and one machine real estate operator struck back. The real estate man arrested the speaker, a City party candidate, and at the hearing proved himself technically right, but morally wrong. The speaker was discharged, and the real estate man injured his reputation. Another speaker reflected upon the loyalty of the chief of the highway bureau to the Mayor, and said that he ought either to be loyal or to resign. The man resigned; the speaker was accused of promoting the spoils system of politics. These were the merest ripples on the stream of public opinion flowing swiftly towards the support of the City party at the polls. The very fact that during the summer 55,000 illegal names had been stricken from the lists of voters encouraged the great delinquent vote to go to the polls to rebuke such wholesale corruption of the suffrage. Three assessors guilty of this fraud were already in jail, and several more under indictment. Many citizens voted for the first time in years excepting at Presidential elections. Politics became uppermost in the minds of men wherever they were gathered together. No matter what topic was under discussion, the subject was bound to give way to the question of the hour. In clubs, on the street, at dinner-tables, where before few ventured to introduce so hopeless and altogether disagreeable a subject, politics now became the fashion. Old friendships were sometimes strained under a difference of political opinion. The clergy preached political sermons. The Bishop of Pennsylvania actually wrote a political prayer. The women formed a committee to aid the City party, opened headquarters, and carried on a vigorous and effective campaign. In many wards the women organized and addressed political meetings of women and even of the voters themselves. They canvassed doubtful divisions, ringing door-bells, and buttonholing many an unwary voter who walked the streets. Campaign songs were written, campaign poetry (including an excellent sonnet) composed, and at least one City party march published. No darkest spot in Africa ever saw so many tracts as Philadelphia saw in those energetic days.

As election day approached the tension became very marked. Fears of bloodshed were expressed by conservative citizens. Rumors flew thick in the overcharged political atmosphere. At

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last the great day dawned, a perfect day, dry and warm, and the actual struggle began. An enormous vote was polled in the early morning hours. Trouble at the polls occurred in comparatively few divisions. In every tough district the polls were guarded not only by extra patrolmen, but also by special policemen sworn in for the day. These specials were citizens, rich and poor, old and young, in many instances college students. Each special wore a big police badge and carried a colossal club. In the very tough wards mounted police patrolled the streets. The city administration was taking no chances. There were many arrests, a few unjustifiable ones. The patrol-wagons brought to the City Hall load after load of prisoners, and, driving into the courtyard of the City Hall, discharged their loads into the cells amid the cheering, hooting, and howling of a mob of citizens delighted that the tables had been turned upon the old, arrogant "gang." By afternoon the victory had been won, and before the polls closed the machine leaders acknowledged defeat. That night crowds of triumphant citizens marched the streets cheering their successful candidates and singing "Onward, Christian Soldiers." The united forces of reform had swept the machine out of business with a majority of over forty-three thousand (43,309 by the official count) votes. In the State the Democratic candidate for Treasurer had won. Philadelphia and Pennsylvania had struck the first blow for common honesty in high places.

Tuesday, November 7, 1905, marks the downfall of the oligarchy in Philadelphia. The so-called leaders no longer lead. The invincible "Organization" has been shattered by the uprising of the plain people. David has slain Goliath. Elijah has called upon the God of Israel, and the priests of Baal are slain. "Practical" politics are to-day no longer practical in this most American city of the United States. What the future has in store no prophet can foretell. Elijah may cast his mantle of political power upon some unworthy Elisha, but to-day Philadelphia challenges the admiration of all the cities of the land and shines like a good deed in a naughty world for the hope of every lover of democracy and popular government.

The Jerome Campaign Club

By Moses Ely

LAST August, when District Attorney Jerome made his Declaration of Independence, there was living down on Staten Island a colony of young lawyers and business men which included some of his assistants. After the political parties had refused to nominate Mr. Jerome, a group of these young men asked themselves what they might do to help him in his fight against boss rule. The result of some earnest planning was the organization of the Jerome Campaign Club, and the offering of its services to the Jerome forces for any use whatsoever.

The needs of Mr. Jerome's campaign were money and some means of holding the votes he won and of making sure they were counted on election day. At the time of his Carnegie Hall speech, at the opening of his campaign, he had no money and he had no organization. Three weeks later, on election day, his campaigners had enough money to meet all legitimate requirements, and he had an organization which made sure that every vote cast for him was counted. When the Jerome Campaign Club came forward, measures had already been adopted to provide for funds, and the Committee on Speakers of the Citizens' Union, with its chairman, who had already been through two hot fights, was taking care of outdoor and indoor meetings. To the club, therefore, was turned over the duty of enlisting watchers for election day and also of giving general help during the campaign wherever it might be needed. Jerome's Campaign Committee appointed as chairman of its Committee on Watchers the organizer and president of the Club, and with this, its only official standing, the Club set itself to work.

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It opened its own headquarters in the dining-room of a hotel, and divided its committee-rooms from one another by white muslin tacked on wooden frames.

The first great need was to get hold of men who could give up their time before election. As Jerome had been nominated by a petition of the voters themselves, there was a list of ten thousand Jerome nominators, with their addresses, to begin with. Letters were sent to them all, urging them to come forward. Men went to the meetings where Mr. Jerome was to speak, and they arranged with the Chairman of the meeting that he would ask volunteers to hand in their names at the close of the meeting. All these announcements had to be made before Jerome came, for after he appeared on the platform the crowd would listen to no one else. When he had finished and left, the meeting was over. Many good workers were secured in this way. One man said he was already speaking from a truck which he was paying for himself, and he was ready to contribute money, but "if there is anything more that you want, please put me down." A mechanic said, "Put me down, and my three sons too. Jerome arrested a man who hit me last winter. The police court would not give me a warrant because he was a Tammany worker, but Jerome got him all right." A wife took care of a third man, and he signed where she told him. Then she wanted to know what she could do.

The next night, at the farthest end of the city, the announcement by a speaker that Jerome was as sure of election as his friend McClellan was the cause of an outburst of cheers for Hearst, and then a counter demonstration for Ivins and McClellan. When quiet was finally restored, a voice bellowed, "Tell us about Jerome; that's what we're here for." And after that meeting followers of all three candidates for Mayor asked to be allowed to work for Jerome. Then the Bohemians had their turn. They asked for sample ballots, that they might explain in their own tongue how the vote for District Attorney should be cast.

Meantime the work at the headquarters of the Club had far outgrown what its organizers had planned. As the cry for Jerome grew and grew, and men came forward willing and eager to help, the Club found itself unable to meet all the calls made upon it. Besides, something was needed closer to the people to hold them and to encourage them in their adherence. Local headquarters in the various Assembly Districts were necessary. So a new committee on organization was formed to co-operate with the existing committee on organization of the Citizens' Union, and a Republican County Committeeman who had resigned to help in Jerome's campaign was put at its head. The Citizens' Union already had district leaders in all but eight of the Assembly Districts, and five days later these vacancies were filled. On election day, in every one of the thirty-five Assembly Districts of New York County—for the District Attorney is a county, not a city, officer—there was an Assembly District leader, with a captain at practically all of the eleven hundred odd polling-booths.

Closely allied with the Committee on Organization was the Committee on Canvassers. Here the Club placed itself under the old Citizens' Union Committee. Here again the Jerome nominators were called upon, and, also taking whatever other names it could find, the Committee asked for men to canvass their neighborhoods for the Jerome vote, and to report to the local organizations. It also distributed among its men hundreds of the sample ballots—printed in English, Hebrew, Italian, and German—which showed a man clearly how, under our complicated election law, he could legally split his ballot. No work could have been more important. For Jerome had an emblem and a column on the ballot for himself, and unless a man wanted to vote for Jerome only, every ballot cast for him would be a "split vote."

As election day drew nearer, the work became more and more subordinated to the need for watchers at the polls. Each candidate or group of candidates is by law entitled to have two watchers within the guard rail, beside the ballot-boxes. Their duties are to keep track of the voting during the day, to challenge illegal voters, and, most important of all, to watch the count and secure a fair

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one. With Jerome running against the field, it was extremely important that he should have his own men at the polls. The duty of providing watchers ordinarily falls upon the local organization of a party; but these local organizations as they had been built up had, except in one or two instances, done all they could. So this work fell upon the central Committee. They wanted twenty-five hundred men, and had but three weeks in which to find them. Every day the papers sent out the calls, every night from the platforms men were asked to give up the day; the Club lists were used to give addresses to the stenographers; the enthusiasts begged every man they knew, or had spoken to, or even smiled at, to volunteer. Ten days before election the names began to come in, but on Monday morning, the day before election, the list was still three hundred short of completion.

Watching the polls is no joke for any one. You reach the election district to which you have been assigned before six o'clock in the morning and watch the inspectors close and seal the box. When you want your lunch, the voting proves brisker; and, finally, you live through until five o'clock in the evening with only a sandwich or two for nourishment. At five the count begins, and if the inspectors are slow or stupid or many ballots have to be discussed, it is sometimes two or three o'clock in the morning before you get home. Watchers for political parties earn $5 on election day. Only a few asked the Club for money, however, and those were told that all who were helping Jerome were giving what they could, either their time or their money. With that understanding they came. At the lunch hour and in the evenings the Club's facilities were taxed to the utmost. A Polish editor said he had been printing the sample ballots with directions to his people, and he wanted to do more. So he went over the map of the East Side until he had picked out a polling-place in the thick of his own people. A Stock Exchange member living in one of our largest hotels said he would go anywhere in the city, and was sent down on Madison Street on the lower East Side. Before he left with his assignment he gave twenty dollars for the campaign funds. The same evening another man came in who could not afford to give up election day, and he was sorry that his dollar could not be more. Another man confided to the chairman that he had just had a new engine put in his motor-boat, and election day would probably be his last chance to try it, but he couldn't go. A day or two later he brought in a second man who agreed to help him at his district. About ten o'clock on Monday evening, and just as the rush was letting up, there came crowding in twenty men from Princeton and Yale, who wanted to be put where there was something doing. One man came up from Washington on the midnight train on Monday, and hoped he might get through to take the midnight train on Tuesday for home. One Orange man spent Monday night at the Astor House. Several came from along the river and many from Brooklyn. Almost every man you had known at college and the law school had his name down at the end of the three weeks. On election day the Committee on Watchers had at least one man in every one of the eleven hundred odd election districts in the county, and in every district where it expected trouble it had two. The watchers knew the election law, because for a week before election every night a lecture on the duties of watchers was given at Berkeley Lyceum, and when they came back to headquarters on Tuesday night several had exciting reports to make. One man had a black eye; and another said that "a Tammany watcher went into the booth with some of the voters, and after he had done it a couple of times, I said I would not stand on technicalities, and I went in too. Then the cop fired us both out." There was also at headquarters a reserve force of one hundred men ready to go wherever needed. Further, each election district had its own local captain, and the Assembly District leader was at his headquarters to act in case of emergency. Then, again, the whole county was covered by a patrol sent out in cabs and automobiles in the outlying districts, who visited each polling-place

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at least twice during the day. Their duty was to equalize watches, to report vacancies in watchers to headquarters or in captains to the Assembly leaders, call for help if it should be needed, and in all ways see that the volunteer army was doing its work. Perhaps my own patrol is typical of them all. In the morning, when I was in a hurry, I was stared at by police and inspectors, and my driver was asked if I was not Jerome. At one polling-place the boys were sure enough of it to follow us for two blocks, cheering madly. But in the afternoon, when I had more time, I held a small reception; every one wanted to know what I had heard and seen on my rounds; the different watchers had been discussing how certain votes should be counted and wanted my opinion; and in some instances not only our men but the whole board of inspectors accepted my reading of the law.

Then, after the suspense of the early evening, came the news that Jerome had won, and the Tammany lawyer was wrong who, three weeks before, had said that there would be a lot of "Hurrah, boys!" over Jerome, but he could not win because he had no organization.

The Troubles of the New Congressman

By Robert Lincoln O'Brien

HOW to make "book-learning" attractive has long been the aim of our educators. Some way of making the National House of Representatives attractive to its younger members must be devised if that body is to retain the services of the best men who get there. In the voluntary withdrawal of members after two or three terms of service, and before they have reached any place of real usefulness, may be found a defect in our mechanism of government which invites serious attention.

Ex-President Cleveland tells the story of a Representative who, on his first day of service, asked himself in congratulatory introspection, "How in the world did *I* ever get here?" Twenty-four hours later, bewildered by so many associates, the question that puzzled him was, "How did all these other fellows ever get here?" Seen from the home point of view, a position in the National House looks large; it appears small at the Washington end. Several influences contribute in this direction.

Many strong men would put up with the inadequate Congressional salary of $5,000 (which is the same as that of a Senator) if they could feel that their work in the House was of such history-making importance as to justify some personal sacrifice. But when they find that, for several years at least, the most they can do is to distribute garden seeds, recommend fourth-class postmasters (usually to their Senators), and go to the Post-Office Department to beg for the establishment of a few new rural free-delivery routes, they lose enthusiasm. It is also their privilege in the House to vote with their party at the hour which the Committee on Rules names for that purpose, on such proposals only as this same Committee, dominated by the Speaker, is willing to have come up, and usually without amendment.

But why cannot work in the House be important? What is the matter? A fundamental source of trouble lies in the present size of that body. Even this country is not big enough to keep three hundred and eighty-six real statesmen steadily engrossed in the settlement and disposal of great questions. They would then make more decisions than are recorded in the annual three days' session of the National Board of Trade. New legislation, aside from the routine appropriations, should be added to the statute-books only after great deliberation, and a small group can do this better than a mass-meeting.

The size of the House is the reason always assigned for the code of rules which concentrates power in the hands of the old members. And why is the House so large? Because the absurd practice has grown up of making the apportionment after each census in such

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a way that no State will lose representation. If the most slowly growing State is to hold its quota, on a population basis, the rapidly growing States must swell the total membership. Maine served as pace-maker after the last apportionment. To the House of the nineties, containing three hundred and fifty-seven members, Maine contributed four; the largest ratio which would save her that number in 1901, even by accepting a majority fraction for the last man, meant the present total of three hundred and eighty-six. This was reached under the Burleigh Bill.

The size of the House and the size of its average member vary in inverse ratio. Until some Congressional leader arises with the nerve to say that two hundred members would make a good working body, adjusting the ratio of population accordingly, the disillusionment which Washington brings to the new Congressman will go on. The shifting of the center of National power gives the older States an unpleasant sensation, but one that is obscured if they are allowed to retain the number of districts to which they have become accustomed. The last census was notable, too, for the relatively small western movement of population. The factory cities of the East and the Great Lake ports had in that decade pushed forward most rapidly.

The difficulty which a new member finds in getting the House to listen to him when he attempts to speak is a serious discouragement to many aspirants for distinction. With a five hours' session nearly every day, Congress loses that appetite for oratory for its own sake which characterizes a Populist convention. The presence of the desks, unlike the British House of Commons, where members can do little except listen, puts a premium upon inattentiveness. It is a good place to go over one's correspondence or to scan the home papers. Nor should any member be expected to listen to his three hundred and eighty-five associates with that scrutiny which would befit a judge in a declamation prize contest at the home high school.

Several years ago a group of first-term members decided, half in fun, that they would bring about a reform by organizing themselves into what was appropriately named "The Tantalus Club." The first of their members who obtained the floor for a set speech—and he would ordinarily have looked out upon a few statesmen bending drearily over their desks—found his fellow club members, by previous arrangement, gathering about him to listen with painful attention to every word that fell from his lips. They frequently interrupted him with tumultuous applause. Since new members comprise a third of the House, their demonstration soon attracted the attention of the older members, who did not, however, notice the peculiar composition of the listening group. Their example was somewhat contagious.

Members who strayed into the chamber thought something must be going on, and they stayed to discover what it was. When the Tantalus orator concluded, his associates formed a procession to shake his hand—something which marks a notable triumph. It was the boast of the Tantalus men, some of whom maintained the line by passing several times on this felicitating errand, that they "fooled the old members" into thinking the outburst genuinely spontaneous. Even Sereno Payne, the floor leader, and many other "old-timers," paddled into the procession too, extending congratulations to the new member. The hired mourners of antiquity had been outdone!

The new member takes up residence in Washington, where he must live approximately half the time. In the early days of the American capital it was a great city for boarding-houses and small hotels, and, if tradition is correct, of very poor ones. The city was so unattractive that everybody stayed in it the shortest possible time—a discouragement to the establishment of private homes. But after the war, and as Washington became rated as an ideal place of residence, members to a greater extent set up households there, either in owned or rented dwellings, where they remained often longer than the Congressional season. This begins the first Monday in December and runs till March 4 on the odd-numbered years, and until some time in May, June, or July on the even-

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numbered or "long session years." The present session is one of this latter kind.

Some subsidence in the tendency to establish private homes in Washington is now noticeable, due to the rising standards of living without corresponding increase in salary. Unless a Congressman possesses a private fortune, he is confronted with something of a financial problem. He must keep up an establishment at home as well as in Washington, which is now one of the most expensive of American cities. Personal finances probably prove to half the members a subject almost as pressing in interest as the condition of the National exchequer, with which they have only remote relations.

The small salary is driving out of Congress an increasing number of useful men who, in the prime of life and with growing families, cannot afford to stay. Congressman Knox, of Massachusetts, after he had received visits one morning from a number of constituents, nearly all of whom needed pecuniary assistance, made this observation: "The Congress of the United States is the proper place for either of two classes of men—those who are so rich that they can respond cheerfully to the requests of every charitable organization, political club, Grand Army post, or church improvement enterprise in the district without, feeling the drain in the least; and, second, those who are so poor that the meanest beggar would not waste time trying to extort anything from them. For a man who belongs to neither of these classes—who, like myself, is in between the two—Congress is no place."

A good story is told of Representative Ketcham, of New York, who is hard of hearing. One day a stranded constituent presented himself at the door of the House, asking for ten dollars with which to get back to the Valley of the Hudson. "What did you say?" answered the Congressman.

"I asked if you would be kind enough to let me have twenty dollars to help me get to my home in your district, for I have had great misfortunes—"

"You said ten dollars a moment ago," broke in the venerable member, showing the diplomatic uses which a physical infirmity may serve, under the mounting aspirations of the thrifty constituent.

Congress provides each member with $1,200 a year for clerical assistance. Those who are chairmen of committees get much more, but this minimum all members have at their disposal. Occasionally a man is "close" enough to get his clerical work done in his own family, by wife or a daughter, thus directing the greater part of this sum into the family revenues. But this is poor economy, and the average Congressman, it is safe to say, spends more for clerical assistance than he receives from Uncle Sam.

The Congressional secretary, as the regular clerk is called, has become a great institution; he not only takes much of the disagreeable work from the shoulders of his chief, but he does many things that the chief cannot, and often proves so comprehensively useful that the Congressman wonders why the district needs any other representative in Washington. To "run the Departments" and attend to the correspondence are highly important services.

The United States Government gives away a great many things on the Congressional quota system, like garden and flower seeds in the name of scientific agriculture, and publications of various sorts—books and maps and reports. It is the business of the secretary to see that the constituents are remembered, every one, if possible, during a two years' term, with something that is moderately useful, at least "considering the price." The city district secretary trades alfalfa seeds with a country member's assistant for something which an urban constituency can be induced to absorb. The clearing-house of these favors affords an interesting exhibit in local tastes. The rural clergy of certain States have a decided appetite for the bound volumes of eulogy pronounced over each member who dies in office; these are distributed among the members by quota. To a Wall Street broker the receipt of such a book, detailing the virtues of a stranger, would not be regarded as highly desirable, but to men who are sorely pressed for "something new in funeral sermons" they prove most welcome. The facile secretary, rivaling the mythical Santa

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Claus of his boyhood, picks out for the constituents of his chief something that they will each appreciate.

Every new Congressman is confronted with all the unsatisfied aspirants for pensions lurking among the voters of his district. Those who have long been unable to get their claims recognized take a new start whenever a new Representative goes to Washington, just as does the chronic invalid when a new physician arrives in town. He goes to the Pension Office, or sends his secretary, and ascertains the reason for the applicant's past failures. If the case seems especially meritorious on grounds of equity, where it is deficient in law, he may get a private act passed, for a certain number of these are allowed to each member of Congress per term, and he is supposed to pick out for this bounty the most meritorious cases which the general laws do not reach. He never likes to have it known that such a quota system exists; it narrows the shoulders of the "committee," upon which failures could otherwise be loaded.

The member who persuades his constituents to renominate him and re-elect him several times will gradually find himself one of the real leaders of the House. He must stand well with his party to be nominated, and his party must stand well with the whole voting body for him to be elected—a double test, but one which most carefully behaved men can pass. The incoming Congress is notable for the small proportion of new men; it is when changes of party control take place that the sensational overturns occur. The last Congress contained one hundred and twenty-six first termers; the present Congress, about eighty. But the lower of these figures could be greatly reduced if the younger men really cared to stay.

It is impossible to present statistics showing the proportion of those going out who do so because of the refusal of constituents to accord them a renomination, since this is a relative matter. Opponents and critics are never absent in the most successful member's career; the question is how severely he shall fight them. The unattractiveness of Congressional service for the newer men is such that in most cases they conclude that if John Smith is so very anxious for the place they might as well let him have it. They will not go to great lengths in circumventing him.

Any one familiar with the delegation of most of our States could cite instances where the growing indifference of members to the delights of Congressional life operated to point a way out. From Massachusetts, for example, William H. Moody was becoming eager for the professional career which the outside world offered him, and was about to "break away," when a place in the Cabinet, in line with his profession, tempted him to stay in public life a little longer. From Maine, the land of steady habits, Congressman Littlefield, who stands in the front rank of National lawmakers, is another man restless under the limitations of that service, and liable to return to private life at almost any time. Naturally, the men who drop out are usually the less known before the country, but possessed of the material which would make them conspicuous if they could be induced to stay. Others remain till it becomes clear whether the House will prove a stepping-stone to the Senate; and if it is not, they gradually fold their tents, like the Arabs, and steal away.

The House offers a good career for those who stay long enough. After about four elections, or eight years' service, in an average experience, the really serious and important work begins. The member then becomes the chairman of a committee, if he belongs to the party that has a majority of the House, or the ranking opposition member, if in the minority. In either case he is virtually responsible for expressing the party's point of view in one branch of the legislation that goes through the House.

When the Senate passes a bill, in somewhat different form, the head of the committee is named, with two others next to him in rank, to go to the conference, where they meet three men from the Senate, and together they adjust the differences, finally reaching a conclusion. In the negotiations they may have to go back to the House or the Senate at intervals "to receive further instructions," but in the long run those bodies usually

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take their advice. The member who stays in office long enough to reach the dignity of serving as a conferee comes to shape his country's history.

Committee assignments are made with reference to a member's previous experience in life, as well as his tastes and acquirements. Every member is struggling for the best possible committee places, and the Speaker has no small task in making assignments that will please everybody. Most men serve on two committees, one of importance and the other of the class that is seldom called into action.

Committees meet in the forenoon, usually at 10:30, chiefly to hear testimony in regard to any proposed legislation, and they adjourn at noon, when Congress convenes. A few of the most important committees have authority to sit while Congress is in session. The overworked committees meet almost every day in the busy period of Congress, while once a week suffices for many; still others assemble only once or twice a session. The committee on the ventilation and acoustics of the Chamber is not so active as to produce nervous prostration. Ways and Means is the great committee, handling as it does tariff and other revenue legislation. Major McKinley, as its chairman, gave his name to the "McKinley Bill," which was the great issue of several campaigns, and finally carried him to the Presidency.

The Committee on Appropriations is almost as important in its practical control of affairs. During the last session "Inter-State and Foreign Commerce" seemed to have the most legislation, with the railroad rate controversy, pure food matters, and the Panama Canal, to say nothing of permissions to railroads to build bridges across streams, and other routine. Committees, like everything else in this world, "have their day." The present Speaker, Mr. Cannon, had been for years Chairman of Appropriations, or its ranking member in periods of Democratic control. His two predecessors, Henderson and Reed, singularly enough, both came from the chairmanship of the Judiciary.

Somebody may ask how service in the House might be made genuinely attractive to high-grade men. The adoption of several of these suggestions might do something towards it:

(1) Keep the membership down to two hundred and fifty.

(2) Raise the salary to $10,000.

(3) Change the rules so that there would be some room for the play of individual feeling, making the House more like the Senate in this respect. Correspondingly, the Senate would have to take on some of the business-transacting methods of the House. Two bodies operating under "unanimous consent" could never conduct the public business.

(4) Make the Chamber itself a better forum for debate.

(5) Give the House a larger share than now, by comparison with the Senate, in shaping legislation, and so make its constructive work surely worth while.

Getting at the Boys

By Frances Maule

WHEN the Children's Court was first founded in New York City three years ago, it became evident almost at once that the most critical time of a child's career often came immediately after his release from custody. To provide for this contingency, the associated charities of both the Jewish and Catholic communities organized committees to keep track of the children committed to institutions or placed under probation, and to exercise over them some kind of supervision when they should be released. These committees took the name and address of every child convicted of a delinquency, and sent it to the priest or rabbi of his parish; and, although the achievements of both religious organizations have been necessarily limited by the fact that, as a rule, the delinquent children have come from the congested districts, where there is more work for the pastors than can be conveniently covered, anyway, they

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have contrived to tide many a boy over the critical moment when his natural tendency was to react violently from the discipline of the institution or the vigilance of the probation officer and to relapse into the evil ways that had first brought him into court.

Only the Protestant children were wholly without friends or protectors when they were turned out upon the world after a period of incarceration or probation. To provide for this deficiency, one of the officers of the court—a leading member of a Protestant church—tried for two years to get some of his friends among the Protestant clergy to take up the work that lay ready to their hands. He interviewed something like fifty Protestant ministers and talked to scores of Protestant laymen, with but one result. They all told him that the proposed work, although appealing from every point of view, was an impossible undertaking for the Protestant churches.

Catholics and Jews were organized into compact, coherent bodies. Protestants were broken up into a hundred sects. Catholics and Jews had only to forward the name and address of a child to the priest or rabbi of the district in which he lived to secure some sort of attention for him as a legitimate part of the priest's or rabbi's duties. Protestants could hardly hope to select out of the tangle of sects a particular minister who could be held responsible for a particular child in a particular district. To organize a work of the kind among Protestants meant the realization of that impractical dream of all Protestant history—the unification of the dissenting churches.

"Very well, then," said the persistent young propagandist, "if it is necessary to unify the churches to do this work, we will unify them. The work has got to be done."

Thereupon he accepted an invitation which he had at that moment lying upon his table asking him to give a talk on the work of the Children's Court before the Men's Club of the Central Presbyterian Church, an organization which had been studying sociological problems for the past year, and he used the opportunity to make one more appeal in behalf of the cause nearest his heart. So earnest was his talk that on that very night the members of the club voted unanimously to engage in the task that had been declared impossible.

This was October of last year. Since then the Men's Club of the Central Presbyterian Church have done what all the other Protestant organizations which had been approached on the subject had been afraid to attempt. They have gone to work in their own way, and, in their own way, achieved the impossible.

Realizing the fact that the lack of organization among Protestants made it impossible for them to work along the same lines as Catholics and Jews, the Men's Club adopted an entirely new policy. First of all, they condemned as emphatically and eternally taboo the paternal and patronizing attitude of pastor to parishioner or probation officer to probationer, and laid down the positive principle that the boys were to be approached only on the basis of goodfellowship and friendliness. To do this successfully it was agreed that each man in the club should take only one boy to look after, but that to that one boy he was to fill a manifold office. He was, first of all, to be a jolly good friend and comrade. He was to share in the boy's pleasures, to take him out to shows and ball games, to invite him home to dinner, and to make the acquaintance of "the other fellows." Secondly, he was to be a wise and sympathetic counselor. He was not to lecture, not to preach, not to reprove, but to give to the boy the benefit of his wider knowledge and greater experience. Thirdly, he was to be the boy's benefactor in a wise and restrained manner calculated to help him work out his own financial problems rather than to give gratuitous assistance. Fourthly, he was to be the family friend, knowing and working with parents and brothers and sisters, and entering naturally and simply into the life of the boy's home. The office was, in fact, much like the position of an elder brother of an exceptional quality who had shot ahead of the other members of the family in a worldly way, but who had retained his love for and interest in its members—and "Elder Brothers" the men came to be called both by their friends and by their young charges.

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One of the men, at the conclusion of a visit to his particular boy, said one day:

"Well, Ed, if you get into trouble or anything goes wrong at home here, don't be afraid to come 'round and see me."

Ed looked up with a quick smile.

"Aw, I can go to anybody when I'm in trouble," he said. "Bully thing about you is that I can go to see you when I ain't in trouble."

But the winning of both the boys and their parents to this state of mind was not an easy task, and the first efforts of the Elder Brothers were fraught with peril and excitement. In Jewish and Catholic homes a visit from the rabbi or priest is common enough not to cause bewilderment, misunderstanding, consternation, or resentment; but the Elder Brothers, having taken upon themselves a wholly unprecedented office, had to meet and deal with all four conditions. One mother greeted her boy's visitor with a wash-boiler full of hot suds and water, and another regarded the occasion of his call as a serious enough matter for the bringing out of an ancient and formidable-looking revolver. Many were convinced that the stranger was an agent of that bugaboo of the tenements, the Gerry Society, and still others could not be disabused of the idea that he was a police officer bent on arrest.

It was a task requiring a fine degree of tact and diplomacy to establish the most elementary relations of friendliness and harmony, and some of the Elder Brothers gave it up. With most of them, however, the honest desire to place themselves on a basis of genuine friendship got them safely over the first difficulties.

Some of the men started in with man's traditional way of "getting together" with fellow-man or boy—a good feed. At first this method occasionally resulted in the mysterious disappearance of articles and viands not scheduled for carrying away, but the Elder Brothers quietly made good the losses out of their own pockets and awaited the psychological moment for the explanation of the difference between mine and thine, and the depredations gradually decreased and finally ceased altogether.

The boys developed a pride in deserving the trust of the men who had sought them out to become their friends. The only two who fell from grace and had to be returned to the Court begged desperately that their own particular "Elder Brothers" should not be told of their deflections. One of these had been visited only twice by the man who had elected to become his friend, but, as the boy was being led away, he said to the Gerry Society officer:

"Youse blokes has got me agin fer fair, but youse don't pipe Mr. M—— off to dis. See."

But Mr. M —— was "piped off," and was restrained from going to the boy immediately only by the fact that the Elder Brothers never attempt to do anything at all with a boy while he is in the hands of the court, and at the present time he is only waiting for the boy's sentence to expire to renew the acquaintance where it was broken off.

In the latter part of December, after the Elder Brothers had come safely through the more trying and difficult phases of getting their work under way, and each had succeeded in establishing relations of confidence with one boy, they decided to risk bringing their young charges together to organize a boys' social club. There were to be no alarmingly "improving" features. The boys were to be invited to meet every other Saturday evening in the lecture-rooms of the church for a feed and general good time. When there they were to be encouraged to work out the club idea for themselves, to elect officers, to conduct meetings according to parliamentary law, and to devise their own programmes.

This scheme, although undertaken with some misgiving, worked out with surprisingly satisfactory results. From the first the boys took with solemn delight to the weighty business of elections and parliamentary practice, and although the sessions were frequently enlivened by some lively catch-as-catch-can athletic work of various kinds, the boys themselves imposed a stern discipline and exacted a strict attention to the business in hand. The men, indeed, were positively incredulous of their success, and

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asked boy after boy to join with the firm conviction that he would not come at all or would never attend more than one meeting, only to see him become an active and earnest member of the club. There was William, for instance. William was older than most of the boys, and when he was asked to join the club nobody believed that he would accept the invitation. But William came. He came and stood outside the church door, and smoked cigarettes, and called the other boys names, and deported himself generally in a highly unsatisfactory manner. Nobody said anything to him, however, and when he finally went off home with the other boys, the Elder Brothers assumed that they had seen the last of him. They were mistaken. At the next meeting William was at the church bright and early, neat and clean, and without the cigarettes. He made no explanations and no one asked any questions, but from that time he never missed a meeting until the season closed. Only recently, when the Rev. Joseph Taylor Britan, assistant pastor of the church and leader of the work among the boys, came home late one evening, he found William waiting patiently on the front steps to find out when the club meetings for the year were to begin.

And William is not the only one who has manifested impatience. For weeks before the first meeting Mr. Britan was besieged with inquiries by letter, personal application, telephone, and postal card from both men and boys. Even before that meeting the leaders of the Men's Club were at work on that larger and more difficult phase of the task which they have set themselves—the unification of the Protestant churches into one strong organization for humanitarian work among the Protestant children discharged from the Children's Court.

To deal with the vast numbers of children of Protestant belief that pass through this busy tribunal every day, the exacting system which the club has adopted requires the services of a much larger number of individual workers than one, two, three, or ten clubs; and to do efficient work the leaders of the enterprise are now engaged in the attempt to form a great chain of men's clubs recruited from every Protestant church in the city of Greater New York, with a working staff to keep track of every Protestant child convicted of a misdemeanor. The idea is to assign to each club a certain district, so that when a child is released from custody he may be promptly turned over, for the special care of the Protestant organization, to his own district branch. It will be the duty of the leader of each branch to assign an individual member to look out for each boy whose name he receives, and to keep a complete record of the boy's whole life from the time that the organization takes him in hand.

The men's clubs of a number of the leading Protestant churches have become interested, and have invited Mr. Britan to lay his plan fully before them, and the Men's Club of the Rev. Dr. John C. Whitney's church in the Bronx has already begun work.

As the surest proof of the effectiveness of the new system, Mr. Britan gives the results which the parent society has already achieved.

Seventy-five boys have been taken up and befriended by members of the club. Of these only two have fallen a second time into the hands of the Children's Court. The other seventy-three are established safely on the upward path. Out of this number seven had been convicted of burglary, eleven of petit larceny, two of assault, two of intoxication, and the rest of malicious mischief and such misdemeanors as throwing stones, breaking windows, shooting craps, starting fires, and annoying people in the streets.

Most of these boys are now active and enthusiastic members of the Boys' Club, and all who are of working age have been placed in good positions, while the little chaps under fifteen have been established solidly in school. Every one of them, helped and encouraged by his "Elder Brother" in the Men's Club, is pegging away at his school or his work with the most exemplary zeal, and a few are developing indications of really extraordinary talent.

As only ten to twelve per cent. of the children brought into the court are girls,

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and as most of them are easily taken care of from the very nature of their cases, the leaders of the movement have not thought it necessary to even take under consideration any general plan for dealing with girls. Individual cases have, however, been taken in hand by wives and friends of the members, and enough other women have volunteered their services to provide for all the most urgent needs of the little girl delinquents to render any further organization of this particular branch of the work wholly unnecessary.

The Eclipse of Sentiment[1]

By Gilbert Keith Chesterton

Author of "Essays," "Varied Types," etc.

IF there is one notion more foolish than the notion that the English are not sentimental, it is the notion that their sentimentality is anything to be ashamed of. How the idea arose that the English are stern and sensible and self-contained, I have not the least idea. Perhaps it was a Continental slander. Perhaps it had something to do with the accident of the temperament of the Duke of Wellington; the Duke of Wellington, it may be remarked, was, like many other sane, clear-headed people, by nationality an Irishman, and he was (and this is more important) by station a gentleman, and gentlemen tend to be alike in all countries; they are almost a kind of cosmopolitan and separate group like gypsies or Jewish bankers. But, outside Wellington and one or two people like him in whom the gentleman ideal was absurdly predominant, there is nothing whatever to show that the English who founded the British Empire in the eighteenth century either were less sentimental or were thought less sentimental than other people. What we call the typical Englishman (the man who "hates a scene") was not the real Englishman who made England. Chatham, for example, who welded his countrymen into a single sword pointing at victory, was a real Englishman, but he was not a "typical" Englishman. If there was one thing he loved, it was a scene. General Wolfe, who gave the English Canada, was a real Englishman, but he was not a "typical" Englishman. He also loved a scene more than meat or drink. When Chatham invited him to dinner and talked about the prospects, he drew his sword and walked about the room, waving it like a lunatic, and declaring that he would eclipse Cæsar and Hannibal. Every one knows the story of his last splendid and sentimental hours, when he said he would give up the town of Quebec to have written some very splendid and very sentimental verses. If Clive differed from this type, it was only because he was not quite so sane; he was the morbid and suicidal minor poet. The greatest example of all is almost too obvious to mention. The one unquestionable English hero was about the most sentimental person who ever lived. It is amusing to hear modern stockbrokers (most of whom would run away from a thick stick) professing to find something unmanly in Frenchmen kissing each other. And all the time there blazes above them, written in heaven with all the epigrams of the saints and heroes, the last words of the last of the great Englishmen—"Kiss me, Hardy."

Upon the whole, however, I am inclined to trace this delusion of the cold, sensible Englishman neither to a mere international libel or confusion nor to some particular influence, such as that of the Wellington legend. I think it is merely a manifestation of the general decay and disintegration of the modern world. There is, not only in England, but throughout our civilization at this hour, a general faith in a thing which is called strength; and this fact has never failed to be a mark of social emasculation. Strong communities use strength, weak communities worship it. Men in periods like the period of Pericles or the

[1] In the Book Number of The Outlook (the issue of November 25) will be found an article about Mr. Chesterton and his work, by Mr. George Perry Morris. —THE EDITORS.

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period of Hildebrand are men, and hope and pray and dream that they may be some day saints or Utopians or perfect citizens, or whatever their ideal may be. But men in periods like the period of Tacitus or the period of Kipling are fully occupied in hoping and praying and dreaming that they may be some day men. The normal force of a human being has to them become an object of meditation and envy. After ages in which men have gone mad for seemingly mad beatitudes, they, the most superstitious of our race, can go mad even about the ordinary. How often do we not hear praise pompously and solemnly given to some leader or public man, praise which when analyzed will be found to mean merely that he is not much below the average of ordinary self-possession and decision! How often have we not heard in admiring accents such an expression as, "He knows his own mind"! It is as if a friend were to point out a stranger in the street and whisper in our ear hoarsely, "He lights his own pipe."

All this, however, is a somewhat larger issue. The particular aspect of this emasculate worship of masculinity with which I am concerned at present is the absurd association which it has conceived to set up between being strong and not being sentimental. As I say, I am not sure whence it came. Not from masculinity as such, certainly: men are much more sentimental than women, whose only fault indeed is their excessive sense. And when we go back to all history and literature beyond this querulous and effeminate age, we find that the heroes and the strong men are all sentimentalists, that wherever there are blows there are kisses, and that wherever there is blood there are tears. On this subject some modern eulogists of the imaginary kind of strong man have, indeed, set up misrepresentations of history so considerable that they can only be described as large and semi-learned lies. The viking and northern warrior, whose face was of stone and his eyes of steel, is, for example, a lie. The real vikings cried and kissed each other like school-girls. Exactly the same is true of that other historic figure who is generally, by the same people, similarly praised and similarly misrepresented—I mean the English Puritan. In modern romance the Puritan is always exhibited as a man of rock. He never shows his feelings. The real Puritan, as you may see in Bunyan, never did anything else. The romantic Puritan is pitiless to others and pitiless to himself. The real Puritan, as again you may see in Bunyan, was filled with a raging and insane pity for others and with a still more raging and insane pity for himself. In plays and novels the words of great Puritan captains are picked and plain and few. The words of Cromwell were very many and very confused and very emotional. It is difficult to understand how Carlyle contrived to have an admiration for two such antagonistic things as silence and Oliver Cromwell. Cromwell was always talking, except when he was crying.

Legend and epic are in their nature even truer than history; since history is forced to record many things which are exceptional and involuntary, whereas poetry is a full confession of men's hearts. And in legend and epic we find still the same neglected truth. Achilles is a strong man, but he is also a person of great sensibility. He does not suppress his feelings; he is chiefly occupied in suppressing other people. Of the strong, silent man so popular among moderns it is often said that he is somewhat hard but not cruel. In the case of Achilles, as in the case of a child, of a woman, or of other elemental things, exactly the reverse is the case. He is cruel but he is not hard. He is kind, or can be kind, because others are hurt. He is cruel, or can be cruel, because he can be hurt himself. He butchers and insults his enemies because he is overtaken by evil passions of which in that degree we know little. But he spares his enemies, not because he restrains himself, but because he is overtaken by good passions, things of which we know nothing at all. He drags a dead hero at the tail of his chariot; but he is overwhelmed with pity at the speech of the living father. That which he has done with brutal exultation he cannot hear talked of without pain. This is the true type of the strong and sentimental man as he exists both in fable and in fact. An almost perfect parallel to it can be

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found in the career of that splendid creature Edward I. of England. It is said that when he broke at last into the town of Berwick he was so furious at the delay of the siege that he ordered the whole population to be put to the sword. In the midst of the opening carnage a few old men came up to him weeping, whereupon he burst into tears and commanded that the massacre should cease. That is the real Middle Ages, out of which one class of pedants make mere prettiness and stained-glass windows, and another class of pedants make mere ignorance and thumbscrews; that is the real Middle Ages, the healthiest of European periods, full of rage, pity, in a word, simplicity, but with no sophistry at least, with no fundamental doubt of what is right and what wrong. Edward I. knew that it was his duty as a Christian to control his wicked feelings, and this task, whenever he happened to attempt it, kept him pretty well employed. But if you had told him that it was his duty as a gentleman to control his kind feelings, he would have thought you were a raving madman. And so you are.

We shall all of us agree that there is a certain kind of sentiment, or thing commonly called sentiment, which is wrong; but it is not of such a kind as to make the stoical or "strong silent" ideal any nearer to being right. The evil sentimentalism which we all have reason to deplore from time to time as we pass through life is generally, I think, definable as a tame and cold or small and inadequate manner of speaking about certain matters which demand very large and beautiful expression. The sentimentalist's comment on death or first love, for instance, is offensive, not because his words are too big, but because they are not big enough. We all feel, for instance, that if a journalist, having occasion to see the dead child of some poor woman, should in the depravity of his nature talk of it having "a little angel face"—we all feel, I say, that such a journalist is rather a nasty fellow. But the reason is because the thought is, in the presence of a great tragedy, entirely trivial. The august and poignant fact about the child is not that it looks like an angel, or is pretty, or even good; the sacred thing about it is simply that it is dead. The tragedy is just the same if it happens at that moment to look like a baboon. The observation is therefore bad, not because it is emotional, but because it is not emotional. It is bad, not because it is soft, but because it is really very hard and cruel. It is outside the atmosphere; it is strictly to be called "bad taste," because it has not tasted the bracing and bitter substance of calamity. It has drunk the dreadful wine from the same cup as the child's mother, but it has not felt the smack of the difference between this and the weak wine of mere humanitarianism. Certainly, even strong, silent men, futile as they are, are better than these people. They spoil everything about which they rhapsodize. Fortunately, there is nothing about which they rhapsodize more frequently than strong, silent men and the weakness of rhapsody.

But this little modern fad of not showing the feelings will, I think, die very soon, as all such fads die; for religions are killed by their foes, but fads by their followers. One great man at least has in our time rediscovered the old essential kinship between virility and an open tenderness. Walt Whitman, the greatest man of the nineteenth century in rediscovering all the virtues of barbarism, discovered this sentiment also. His poems are full of fearless caresses, of boisterous benedictions, of whole cities "with their arms about each other's necks." Because he was strong, because he was happy, because he was six feet high and had worked with his hands, therefore he also was a sentimentalist. Mr. Rudyard Kipling has said of what he would call our Anglo-Saxon civilization that

> "We do not fall on the neck or kiss when we come together."

If we do not, it is simply because we are, as he has excellently expressed it elsewhere, "a poor little street-bred people." But the doom of this two-penny suburban stoicism had gone forth long before Kipling wrote, when the gigantic arms of Whitman were wrapped round the whole world.

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George Herbert[1]

EVERY one who knows Professor Palmer knows that every line of his work has thoroughness and finish, and that, if he edits a poet, that poet is edited for all time. Critics may and will differ with his estimates, and find mannerisms in his pellucid English; but if they are just, or even if they are unjust, they must admire his intellectual workmanship, his independent judgment, his deep and high devotion. A scholar, a teacher once of Greek and now of ethics, a lover of poetry, a religious thinker with family traditions of church and conscience, who has himself stood in the pulpit because, though he is not a clergyman, the pulpit is in his blood, Professor Palmer has nearly every qualification for editing the poems of that hard-thinking man of religion whose poetry, at once intellectual and spiritual, reveals in close-packed, carefully considered verse the doubts, the disappointments, the anguish, the struggles, and the hard-won peace of the human soul. Moreover, Professor Palmer is George Herbert's namesake. To him the task of editing this poet became long ago a sort of mission—a work of duty and joy and love.

In one respect only may George Herbert Palmer be challenged as an editor of George Herbert: his Church is of New England rather than Old. Yet Herbert's poetry, like the word of God, is not bound. "That Church," says his editor, "he thinks of as a means and not an end; and the end is everywhere communion of the individual soul with God." Such communicants are in every church; some such are in none; and all alike may love and reverence the poet who "first in English poetry spoke face to face with God."

The three volumes contain all the known English writings, whether prose or verse, of George Herbert, with various introductory essays by the editor. To readers familiar with "Our Memorial Introduction," in Dr. Grosart's editions of seventeenth-century poetry, introductory essays have become something to dread; but every one of Professor Palmer's is worth reading and pondering. The editor emphasizes the dilatoriness of Herbert's life till his thirty-eighth year, his constant struggles with lassitude and pride, his service to lyric poetry in general and to religious lyric poetry in particular; he also rearranges the poems in the light afforded by the Williams manuscript and by the poems themselves.

In dwelling on the truth that Herbert was not a being serene and godly, but a proud, human creature, to whom self-sacrifice and piety came hard, Professor Palmer has done memorable service. Not that the fact was unrecognized; there is evidence of it even in Walton's charming and somewhat misleading biography. A shrewd remark of Walton's about Herbert in his Cambridge days has long deserved the recognition which Professor Palmer gives it: "If, during this time, he exprest any error, it was that he kept himself too much retir'd and at too great a distance with all his inferiours, and his cloaths seemed to prove that he put too great a value on his parts and parentage." There is evidence also throughout the poems. Such a poem as "The Collar," for example, reveals the struggles (and the submission) of a passionate, rebellious heart:

"I struck the board, and cry'd, No more!
I will abroad.
What? Shall I ever sigh and pine?
My lines and life are free, free as the rode,
Loose as the winde. . . .
. . . . . .
Away! Take heed!
I will abroad.
Call in thy death's head there. Tie up thy fears.
He that forbears
To suit and serve his need
Deserves his load.
But as I rav'd and grew more fierce and wilde
At every word,
Me thoughts I heard one calling, *Childe!*
And I reply'd, *My Lord.*"

In drawing fresh attention to the proud and impatient side of Herbert, Professor Palmer has set some things

[1] *The English Works of George Herbert.* Newly Arranged and Annotated and Considered in Relation to his Life. By George Herbert Palmer. 3 vols. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston.

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right; yet to many readers he will seem to tip the scale too far. Herbert may have been all that his loving and unsparing editor would make him out and yet not so far from a saint as it might seem. The deeper we see into the lives of those pure and unruffled and peace-giving men and women whom we know and love, the clearer it becomes that in the soul of each of them have been passion and struggle, and that the outwardly tranquil saint has won his command over men through a passionate sensitiveness transmuted into strength and calm. Strength and calm for others—not always or often for himself. "For in that he himself hath suffered, being tempted, he is able to succour them that are tempted."

Nothing can come nearer in sweetness to the Herbert of Walton's Life than the second stanza of "The Flower:"

"Who would have thought my shrivel'd heart
Could have recover'd greennesse? It was gone
Quite under ground, as flowers depart
To see their mother-root when they have blown;
Where they together
All the hard weather,
Dead to the world, keep house unknown."

Herbert's procrastination Professor Palmer proves beyond dispute, and his analysis of the poet's combined activity and irresolution is keen and strong: "He hesitated to act, because he knew how prone he was to rashness; but he finally acted rashly in order to escape his besetting sin of delay." His late and headlong marriage and his equally late and headlong ordination are happily used to illustrate this paradox in his character.

In honoring Herbert as the father of the religious love lyric of England, Professor Palmer probably does an act of justice; but in declaring that Herbert "introduced structure into the short poem" he seems to treat lightly the claims of Ben Jonson. "In most early lyrics," he says, "even the best, stanzas might be omitted, added, or transposed, without considerable damage. Each stands pretty much by itself. In the two stanzas of Ben Jonson's stirring song, 'Drink to me only with thine eyes,' neither is necessary to the other. Those of his 'Queen and huntress chaste and fair' might about as well have taken any other order. This is the more remarkable because into the drama Jonson carried form in much the same conscious way that Herbert carried it into lyric poetry." All this seems at best a half-truth. Surely Jonson's lyrics are not free from "conscious unity:"

"Still to be neat, still to be drest,
As you were going to a feast;
Still to be powder'd, still perfum'd:
Lady, it is to be presumed,
Though art's hid causes are not found,
All is not sweet, all is not sound.

"Give me a look, give me a face,
That makes simplicity a grace;
Robes loosely flowing, hair as free:
Such sweet neglect more taketh me
Than all the adulteries of art;
They strike mine eyes, but not my heart."

In each of the foregoing stanzas the first three lines are a sort of protasis, the last three a sort of apodosis, and the second stanza is in close and natural relation to the first. In the structure of short poems Herbert may have had a purpose more resolute than Jonson's, but he was scarcely an originator.

Professor Palmer's remarks on Herbert's style and workmanship are of peculiar value. It is highly improbable that this poet's technique was ever studied so carefully before, or so appreciatively. "To-day it is usual to make a sharp distinction between the real and the artificial; but Herbert knows no such contrast. When he is most artificial, he is all aglow with passion"—a remark that would be true of Donne also. "An unimpassioned reader, who has not brought himself into full sympathy with the emotion described, may judge much to be artificial which is in reality tenderly exact." "What are called his conceits are usually cases of condensed imagination." Herbert Professor Palmer characterizes as "a literary artist through and through, rejoicing in refinements, feeling no antagonism between cool study and vivid emotion." He tells of Herbert's "penetrative thought and daring phrase," and points out that a certain intricacy "is inherent in his theme, for his is a poetry of struggle. It deals with clashing desires." He remarks also that Herbert "knows when to stop," and speaks of his "eco-

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nomical and antithetic soul." He notes the unique schemes of meter and rhyme in which Herbert's poems abound. His remarks on the meters are concise and thorough, though he uses the term "rime royal" for "heroic quatrain," and names this meter as among the principal forms already tested. Whether the heroic quatrain, as Professor Palmer holds, was truly tested by Surrey in one of his laments for Wyatt is a matter of grave doubt. There is reason to believe that Surrey was merely stretching the number of quatrains in his new form of sonnet, since he ends the poem with the usual couplet. Such discussions, however, have little bearing on Herbert's own meters, or on his editor's study of them.

Everywhere Professor Palmer throws new light on Herbert, but nowhere more than in his rearrangement of the poems in groups according to the evidence, external and internal, of their relation to the poet's life. Thus Herbert, whose poetry deals, as his editor remarks, with the needs of his own soul, gives the reader his autobiography with a logical sequence never found in his work before.

Each poem is accompanied by notes on the opposite page—admirable, unobtrusive notes, that concisely elucidate. The book is illustrated with photographs of "whatever portions of Herbert's visible world have survived the centuries," with facsimiles of manuscripts, with the usual portraits of Herbert, and with the newly published reproduction of White's drawing—a portrait vastly more interesting than either White's or Sturt's engraving in "The Temple." Every help to the reader's eye and mind for the appreciation of Herbert will be found in these volumes, so great is the labor of love which Professor Palmer, with his own fine intelligence and training, has wrought for the most lovable and the most human of our religious poets.

Sea Power and the War of 1812[1]

A TREATISE by Captain Mahan is always awaited with a high degree of expectancy. Beginning with "The Influence of Sea Power upon History" and continuing through "The Influence of Sea Power upon the French Revolution and Empire," "The Life of Nelson, the Embodiment of the Sea Power of Great Britain," and his subsequent writings, he has demonstrated not only the ability to formulate and propound principles of the highest value to the naval strategist, but a firm grasp of naval and general history. It has further been his practice to go directly to original sources, to sift evidence with the greatest scrupulousness, and to set forth the facts and his conclusions therefrom with exactitude, candor, and lucidity. Not infrequently there has resulted a novel as well as a fresh presentation, and such is pre-eminently the case with his latest work, which, like those named above, is concerned primarily with emphasizing the advantages accruing to a nation possessed of a strong and efficient navy; and is designed to conclude the "Sea Power" series as originally planned by its author.

Captain Mahan's point of view can best be shown by a citation from his pages. After pointing out that the interest of the War of 1812 to Americans has commonly been felt to lie in "the brilliant evidence of high professional tone and efficiency reached by their navy, as shown by the single-ship actions and by the decisive victories achieved by little squadrons upon the lakes," he continues: "Without in the least overlooking the permanent value of such examples and such traditions to the nation, and to the military service which they illustrate, it nevertheless appears to the writer that the effect may be even harmful to the people at large, if it be permitted to conceal the deeply mortifying condition to which the country was reduced by parsimony in preparation or to obscure the lessons thence to be drawn for practical application now. . . . The conclusion of the writer is that at a very early stage of the French Revolutionary Wars the United States should

[1] *Sea Power in its Relations to the War of 1812.* By Alfred T. Mahan. Little, Brown & Co., Boston.

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have obeyed Washington's warnings to prepare for war and to build a navy; and that, thus prepared, instead of placing reliance upon a system of commercial restrictions, war should have been declared not later than 1807, when the news of Jena and of Great Britain's refusal to relinquish her practice of impressing from American ships became known almost coincidently." In fine, so far from laying stress, with other American historians, on the battle of New Orleans and the success of our ships in the naval actions that have invested the struggle with such romance, Captain Mahan devotes himself chiefly to exposing the defects of the policies adopted by the administration, the unreadiness for war when war finally came, the suffering entailed by the blockade of the Atlantic seaboard—in a word, what he elects to call "the forgotten bitter truth" of the War of 1812. Of course he would not be Captain Mahan if his pages did not scintillate with graphic descriptions of engagements by land and by water. But the significance of his work lies in the insistence with which he dwells upon precisely those phases which the majority of historians have neglected; dwelling upon them, as will readily be understood, not from any desire to recall the unpleasant for its own sake, but for the purpose of enforcing his dual contention that in time of peace preparation for war is a necessity, and that such preparation should in especial embrace effort to upbuild a powerful navy.

His analysis of the war itself is also directed to prove not only the influence of control of the water upon the course of events, but "the too often forgotten truth that it is not by brilliant individual feats of gallantry or skill, by ships or men, but by the massing of superior forces, that military issues are decided." On the Canadian frontier Captain Mahan finds the decisive factor to have been the operations of the fleets of Perry and MacDonough, in that they "averted from the United States, without further fighting, a rectification of the frontier—as it is euphemistically styled—the effecting of which is one of the most fruitful causes and frequent results of war in every continent and at every period." On the maritime frontier the "grinding efficacy" of the British blockade provoked "the only possible reply" of retaliation by flooding the seas with privateers, "producing an effect upon British commerce which, though inconclusive singly, doubtless co-operated powerfully with other motives to dispose the enemy to liberal terms of peace." Nor would Captain Mahan include among the "other motives" the results of the naval duels of which so much is usually made. For he specifically states that "they had no effect upon the issue, except so far as they inspired enthusiasm and confidence," and once more takes occasion to indicate his conviction that they have had a "distinctly injurious effect" upon National opinion in the United States, by causing the people to forget "the precedent neglect of several administrations to constitute the navy as strong in proportion to the means of the country as it was excellent through the spirit and acquirement of its officers. Sight also has been lost of the actual conditions of repression, confinement, and isolation enforced upon the maritime frontier during the greater part of the war, with the misery and mortification thence ensuing."

Thus viewed, the War of 1812 becomes the reverse of flattering to National self-esteem. But there are other lessons to be drawn from it than those Captain Mahan would instill, and there is ample ground for believing that in his intense devotion to his main thesis he has unduly, however unconsciously, intensified the shadows which, as he justly observes, the tendency has been to ignore in retrospect. Doubtless from the same cause, he has fallen into another error, the error of not always taking full account of contemporary circumstances in apportioning praise and blame. In this connection nothing is in more striking contrast than the discussion of the policies of Jefferson and Madison and that of impressment and the orders in council. On the one hand, we have scathing criticism with scant regard to the mitigating considerations of the period of anxious negotiation immediately preceding the war—the period of futile diplomacy and of equally futile embargo and non-

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intercourse legislation as a last resort to right wrongs without an appeal to arms; on the other, the clearest recognition of the conditions impelling Great Britain to the course of action so irritating and humiliating to the United States and rendering war at last inevitable. But, whatever its defects, "Sea Power in its Relations to the War of 1812" must be rated, like its distinguished predecessors, a substantial contribution to the history of naval warfare and a suggestive exposition of the force of the doctrine of "preparedness."

Comment on Current Books

Æsop's Fables. With Introduction by Elisabeth Luther Cary. Illustrated. Moffat, Yard & Co., New York. $2, net.

It is to be regretted that the illustrator of this otherwise excellent edition has chosen to make his drawings broadly comic, thus missing entirely the spirit of the fables.

American Commonwealths: Rhode Island. By Irving Berdine Richman. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston. $1.10, net.

There can be no doubt that the distinctive characteristic of Rhode Island as a political entity has been its separatist tendencies. Founded as a protest, it has clearly demonstrated its innate individualism in every crisis of its history, and although there now remain few survivals of what its present historian styles "the age of Roger Williams," there is reason for his assertion that even to-day the influence of the old-time thought is making itself keenly felt in the political life of the State. An outsider—"possessed of no relationship, ancestral or contemporary, to New England"—Mr. Richman writes with enthusiasm, and if his judgment errs at times on the side of undue severity and at times on that of undue leniency, his conclusions, on the whole, show discrimination, and his treatment is adequate, developing the social and economic as well as the political and constitutional history of the State. The most serious defect—and it is serious—is an occasional obscuration of salient facts in a mass of detail, particularly in the discussion of the early colonial period. This, however, is to some extent compensated by concise retrospective summaries.

An Orchard Princess. By Ralph Henry Barbour. Illustrated. J. B. Lippincott Co., Philadelphia. $2.

A pretty little love story printed in holiday style with charmingly decorated pages.

Black Spaniel and Other Stories (The). By Robert Hichens. Illustrated. The Frederick A. Stokes Co., New York. $1.50.

Not worthy of the genius of the author of "The Garden of Allah." Some of these short tales read like early and careless study-sketches for that romance. "The Black Spaniel" is a would-be horrible but really ineffective tale of a vivisectionist whose soul is reincarnated in a black spaniel to avenge the wrongs suffered by a similar beast at his hands. The second story is a travesty on the methods of the British woman novelist (or of *a* British woman novelist), more ill-natured than amusing.

Back to Arcady. By Frank Waller Allen. Herbert B. Turner & Co., Boston. $1.25.

A sentimental romance which depends for much of its effect upon annoying and artificial phrases—"heart o' me," "my lady o' roses"—and a peculiar and useless abbreviation of almost to "'most." We leave the Lady with but small regret, though she did hold "her lips a' pouting" and was "all a-tremble." The volume is elaborately decorated, and has marginal designs on alternate pages, which are rather confusing to the eye.

Captains All. By W. W. Jacobs. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. $1.50.

Mr. Jacobs's sailormen continue to make one smile and chuckle. We doubt if he has ever told a better short story than that which relates the defeat of a pseudo-burglarious exploit with a matrimonial intention. Like "Many Cargoes" and "Light Freights," "Captains All" adds notably to the world's stock of humorous enjoyment.

Caroline of Courtlandt Street. By Weymer Jay Mills. Illustrated. Harper & Bros., New York. $2, net.

An elaborately decorated romance, both as to the narrative and setting. The style is flowery; for instance, the maiden's eyes had all the beauty of the first shy evening stars, made softer by the bruise of storms. She, the inheritor of her actress mother's talent, neglected by her selfish, high-born father, grows up a wonder of beauty in the care of an old servant. How she longs for the stage and whether she gains her ambition or not must be kept a secret from the reader who refuses to try his eyes and patience with print backed by confusing designs in pale greenish tint—a vicious form of embellishment.

Contemporary France. By Gabriel Hanotaux. Translated from the French. Vol. II. (1873-75). G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. $3.75, net.

The second volume of M. Hanotaux's monumental work emphasizes the good qualities of its predecessor. First of all, the narration bears the marks of intimate experience. It is a human story. M. Hanotaux has lived himself in the thick and in the tension of the movements he describes. His description, therefore, is no mere "dry-as-dust" account. And the figures portrayed in this volume bear no resemblance to waxwork figures. Gambetta, the Duc de Broglie, even the Comte de Chambord—who are shadowy per-

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sonages to most of us, even to most Frenchmen—as seen here are persons of like passions with ourselves, and what they tried to do has the vividness of contemporary history. M. Hanotaux does not try to give us a history of politics merely: in the present volume two chapters describe the authors, publicists, artists, and scientists of the period. Of these the historian writes, and clearly, but hardly so brilliantly as he describes the political figures which were most prominent on the stage during those critical years from 1873–1875 (the figures 1874–1878 on the cover are therefore misleading). The history comprised is chiefly that of the Broglie Cabinets, together with the attempt to restore the monarchy. It is hardly possible to read M. Hanotaux's vivid pages without obtaining some new view of the essential bankruptcy of the monarchy and of the real strength of democracy as it finally was intrenched in France. The volume is thus a distinct and a notable contribution to history.

Corner in Women and Other Follies (A). By Tom Masson. Illustrated. Moffat, Yard & Co. $1.60, net.

A collection of more or less humorous sketches furnished to periodicals, and especially to "Life," in recent times, and well supplied with short stories, fables, epigrams, squibs, jokes, and humorous verse, with a Gibson-girl cover and many other pictures. Like all other books of its kind, this volume suffers from what might be called unstable humorous equilibrium, but it contains many really funny things.

David G. Farragut. By John Randolph Spears. (American Crisis Biographies.) Illustrated. George W. Jacobs & Co., Philadelphia. $1.25, net.

Though lacking literary distinction, this new biography of Admiral Farragut will repay perusal, and may be especially commended to parents in quest of a soundly suggestive as well as really entertaining book for their boys. Mr. Spears has apprehended the significance of Farragut's life to his own and later generations, and, drawing freely from the great commander's diary and from material afforded by Loyal Farragut, Captain Mahan, and the officials of the Navy Department, has told the story of that life in an animated and informing way, enriching the narrative with an abundance of illustrative anecdote. Where his task calls for comment on general history he is less successful, his tendency being to adhere over-closely to a strictly American point of view—*e. g.*, in the brief discussion of the British policy of impressment and commerce restriction which led to the War of 1812.

Ætna and Kirkersville. By Morris Schaff. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston. $1, net.

The motto of this book, from Coleridge,

> "Great is the charm that
> Yearning memory gives to the form of things,"

is most effectively exemplified in its pages. The author recalls his boyhood in Licking County, Ohio, more than sixty years ago, and has the rare skill of transporting his readers to those homely scenes. Woods, fields, streams, the great National Road; the pioneer men and women, the leaders in the little township, the humble neighbors, their friendships and differences in politics and religious creed; the later days when out of that small bit of Ohio there went one hundred and nineteen soldiers to the War of the Rebellion, many of them never to return—all passes in review before the vivid memory of our loyal son. Himself a graduate of West Point, in active service in the war, he was often called upon to explain "where in the world Kirkersville *was*, anyhow." Now he has explained once for all, and every one who enjoys the intimate history of our early American life, and is proud to trace the causes of our prosperity, will respond to this chronicle with true patriotic feeling. Many of the descriptive chapters and those recalling the birds and wild life in the woods are full of a distinct literary charm.

Facts and Fancies for the Curious. By Charles G. Bombaugh, A.M., M.D. J. B. Lippincott Co., Philadelphia. $3.

This book is not designed for any particular class of readers, but for all classes, and really ought to make a special appeal to those who could not properly be classed as readers at all; for in a clear, concise, available form it treats of the gay and the grave, the wise and the foolish, the seen and the unseen. Without making any pretension to systematic completeness, it is a sort of patchwork of information which has a charm of its own, and is not to be scorned even by the scholar, who, though he may find in it little with which he is not familiar, should be grateful for the ready reference to curious facts and fancies not always within convenient reach when needed. The volume is well bound, clearly printed, and is furnished at the end with a complete index, of immense help in at once locating the information sought.

Far Eastern Impressions. By Ernest F. G. Hatch, M.P. Illustrated. A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago. $1.40, net.

These Far Eastern impressions include descriptions of Japan, Korea, and China. The book is an interesting one to read in connection with Lord Curzon's and Mr. Norman's much larger and exhaustive volumes on the same subjects. Mr. Hatch traveled with his eyes open, and among other conclusions of his we would note his opinion that the Japanization of China is beyond the range of practical politics of the immediate future.

Florence of Landor (The). By Lilian Whiting. Illustrated. Little, Brown & Co., Boston. $2.50, net.

The author of "The World Beautiful" has not appeared before in the field of literary biography, but her insight into character and her spiritual perception, added to a student's love of literature, fit her for her task. She approaches her subject, the home of Landor for forty years, through the glowing arches of history and art, and opens to us the unchanged pages of the fascinating streets of

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Florence, touching briefly here and there a few of the crowding associations. Landor's long life, extending over three generations of English poets, ended at last in the enfolding friendship of the Brownings. They and their friends gathered about the strange, lonely, and often difficult genius, appreciating him and bearing with him, and finally comforting him in his extreme age. Miss Whiting has made a careful and loving study of contemporary writings, and uses a great mass of material with fine discretion. At times her pen seems to flag, and she repeats from mere weariness; but far oftener she shows the nice discrimination of the true critic and the grace of the trained writer. In any case, she presents a graphic, glowing picture of those rich years from 1821 to 1864, when there came and went through Florence a remarkable group of noted people. The friendship that Landor felt for Southey; the admiration he expressed for Aubrey de Vere, and his almost extravagant praise of his poetry; the confiding intimacy between himself and Kate Field, besides other and better known connections in his life, are all charmingly brought to view. A remarkable and unusual portrait of Landor, done for Kate Field by the American artist Charles Caryll Coleman, is a unique feature, while the full-page illustrations from photographs add value to the text.

Good Things and Graces. By Isabel Goodhue. Paul Elder & Co., San Francisco.

This little book at first glance seems to be a collection of recipes, but a second glance shows that the intention is moral, not culinary. The idea is cleverly carried out, and the directions for breakfast food, game pie, deviled tongue, and so on, are often witty as well as admonitory. Perhaps the best idea of the whole may be given by quoting a single recipe, that for hash: "Mix equal parts of flattery and a mush of concessions together and brown over a fire of self-interest. This dish is often eaten with relish, but cannot be recommended as a wholesome one."

House of a Thousand Candles (The). By Meredith Nicholson. Illustrated. The Bobbs-Merrill Co., Indianapolis. $1.50.

A lively and exciting plot-story. Probabilities are frankly set aside at the outset, and the reader, once free from their thrall, will enjoy himself greatly in the search for treasure which follows. The story is told with spirit, and the people in it are alive—in one case, even though dead.

In the Days of Milton. By Tudor Jenks. Illustrated. A. S. Barnes & Co., New York. $1, net.

The third volume in this series of familiar and entertaining studies of the background and career of great English writers. "In the Days of Chaucer," the initial volume of this series, contained a fresh portrayal of the background of time, circumstances, and habit in which Chaucer lived, and which were quite necessary to the expanding of his work. This method was repeated in the second volume, "In the Days of Shakespeare," admirably adapted for the purpose of awakening the interest of young readers, and of very considerable usefulness to mature readers. The latest volume, "In the Days of Milton," following the same procedure, aims, not at a comprehensive life or a critical study of the works of a Puritan poet, but at a contrast between Puritan and Cavalier life, at the reproduction of the profoundly interesting social and religious background against which Milton's work was done and which was largely reflected in that work. The manners, customs, and spirit of the Puritan period are very happily reproduced by Mr. Jenks, but in no narrow way, for he does full justice to the man of the non-Puritanical type—quite as important in their way, and representing, on the whole, a broader view of life than the Puritans.

Inward Light (The). By Amory H. Bradford. Thomas Y. Crowell & Co., New York. $1.20.

Philosophically the new thought is the doctrine of evolution applied to the science of religion; theologically it is the doctrine of the Holy Spirit employed in the interpretation of all the traditional doctrines of the Church; spiritually it is a new recognition of "the true Light, which lighteth every man that cometh into the world." It is this spiritual phase of the newer thinking to which Dr. Bradford gives expression in this volume, which is a book rather of religion than of theology. His latest book, it is also to our mind his best book. The philosopher will perhaps call it poetical; the rationalist will perhaps call it mystical; the traditionalist will certainly call it vague. But its poetry, its mysticism, its vagueness, are the characteristics of that truth of experience which transcends exactness of definition. The analytical critic will pass it by because it is neither analytical nor polemical, but the devout soul will find spiritual nutriment in it, and for the devout soul it has been written.

James Gillespie Blaine. By Edward Stanwood, Litt.D. (American Statesmen: Second Series.) Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston. $1.25, net.

Mr. Stanwood has made a brave attempt to solve the enigma raised by the career of Mr. Blaine, but his conclusions can hardly be deemed final. That he himself appreciates this is shown by his introductory words: "The opinion of the present writer will undoubtedly be regarded as too much biased by personal friendship to be accepted. That, however, is not a sufficient reason why the opinion should be withheld." Mr. Stanwood's contention is that throughout his career Mr. Blaine was actuated by high motives, "that he was inspired by a lofty patriotism, and that both in his public and his private life he was obedient to the promptings of a sensitive conscience." Nor (though he reminds the reader that on this point chronological distance is required for an exact estimate) does he doubt that Mr. Blaine was not merely an able political chieftain, but a statesman of high order, claiming

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for him the credit of having been "the first Secretary of State to form and carry out a definite general forward policy which implied the right of the United States to a position of leadership among nations." Thus he places himself in opposition to those who recognize that the "plumed knight's" influence was great in his lifetime, but believe that it was transitory, and that his name will live chiefly by the tradition of the enthusiasm it aroused. The treatment of several of the most important events of Mr. Blaine's public life—particularly the quarrel with Roscoe Conkling, and the Little Rock investigation—leaves the reader largely in the dark concerning characteristics and circumstances which might account for the mistrust engendered in so many quarters. Nevertheless, the biography is in some respects highly valuable, and should be welcome if only for the new material assembled in a scholarly and interesting way.

Jesus Christ and the Christian Character. By Francis Greenwood Peabody. The Macmillan Co., New York. $1.50.

This book, which is a companion volume to "Jesus Christ and Social Problems," by the same author, has the same characteristics. The foot-notes show a wide reading in modern studies upon the character of Jesus Christ. The body of the book shows large familiarity with the character and teaching of Jesus Christ as they are set forth in the Four Gospels; and this familiarity is the fruit not merely of critical study (although that has not been wanting), but still more of spiritual sympathy and meditation. If it is somewhat less original than its predecessor, as we think it is, this is because the teaching of Jesus Christ as applied to social problems is a somewhat newer theme, while the character of Jesus Christ and the bearing of his life and character on present problems is one which has been very thoroughly worked over by previous students. The book was originally delivered in the Lyman Beecher course of lectures at Yale University to theological students; but while the book is primarily intended for the preacher, it will be not less valuable for the layman as a practical interpretation of Christ's precepts and their application to the modern problems of personal life.

Lady Bobs, Her Brother, and I. By Jean Chamblin. Illustrated. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. $1.25.

A pleasant little romance told in letters to her friend by the girl most involved. Incidentally some graphic descriptions of the Azores and their inhabitants are introduced among the junketings of a group of American and English visitors to the islands. Kate is a witty letter-writer and is capable of flashing out bits of spontaneous humor. Her love affair with brother George and the successful routing of the De Grey-Streeters with their match-making schemes give opportunity for many clever little touches upon international differences.

Moon Princess (The). By Edith Ogden Harrison. Illustrated. A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago. $1.25, net.

A simply told and prettily fanciful tale by the author of "Prince Silverwings" and "The Star Fairies." There are colored pictures.

National Gallery (The). By Gustave Geffroy. Illustrated. Frederick Warne & Co., New York. $10, net.

The treasures of the London National Gallery are here presented graphically as adequately as is possible in black and white. A sumptuous page, over a foot long and of the best paper, permits reproduction without excessive reduction, and the fifty or more full-page renderings of the masterpieces of such painters as Turner, Constable, Hogarth, and Reynolds among the English, Raphael, Correggio, and Titian among the Italians, Rembrandt, Hals, and Hobbema among the Dutch, Velasquez and Murillo among the Spanish, give a fair suggestion of the directions in which the collection is strong, while the single French representative, a Poussin, equally indicates its deficiency. The text is discriminating as well as informative. Altogether, the work is notable among those art volumes which are eminently suited for presentation purposes and as a pictorial memorial of great painters.

Occupations for Little Fingers: A Manual for Grade Teachers, Mothers, and Settlement Workers. By Elizabeth Sage and Anna M. Cooley, B.S. Illustrated. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. $1, net.

This is eminently a practical book of instruction and suggestion. The description of materials used and of the manner of using them is intelligible and clear, and the pictures and diagrams are simple and readily understood. Teachers, mothers, and all who are interested in finding employment for little fingers, and in arousing intelligent interest in self-expression through handwork, will find this little book full of novel and workable suggestions. As an introductory note by Mary S. Woolman says, "This book considers the needs of both the mother and the teacher. It has been written by two teachers who know and love children, and who have practically worked out with them the things of which they write. It tries to meet the child's constant cry, 'What shall I do?' with a direct reply full of help and of interest. Mere formal models are not mentioned, the book dealing with attractive and useful articles. It sets forth the best way of making such articles and it tells what they should cost."

Philippine Life in Town and Country. By James A. Le Roy. Illustrated. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. $1.20, net.

Mr. Le Roy's writing is always fair-minded and non-partisan in attitude. His study of the Filipinos was carried on for several years, while he held an official position under the Philippine Commission, and during one or two subsequent visits. Readers of The Outlook will recall articles from his pen on

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special aspects of the Philippine question, and he has written not a little for other periodicals. The obvious thoroughness of his knowledge as shown in these contributions has made him recognized as a competent authority. This impression will be strengthened by this volume, which is both instructive and readable. Naturally, it takes a wider scope politically and historically than most of the books in this Town and Country Series, for it is impossible in telling what the Filipinos are and how they live to avoid the questions of their capacity for political independence, their treatment by the United States, their acceptance of the rule of a foreign race, and their attitude toward Western civilization. Mainly, however, Mr. Le Roy contents himself with presenting facts as they are, and with pointing out many general misapprehensions and erroneous accounts contained in hastily written articles and books written to satisfy American curiosity, but without careful or complete study on the ground. He finds that the Filipinos—and by "Filipinos" he means the nine-tenths of the people who are Christians, as opposed to the one-tenth consisting of Mohammedans (Moros) and pagans of the wild tribes—are in a transitional state, and that it will not do to dogmatize about them. "Underneath," he adds, "we may feel quite sure there is racial homogeneity in the Philippines. The Christian Filipinos have been powerfully stirred by the events of the past seven to nine years, and have achieved a feeling of racial unity, if we will not quite say of nationality." The chapters on the religious question, education and public opinion, trade, internal development, racial origins and blends, and the description of a typical Filipino community, are all of notable value, while the accounts of social customs, amusements, and traits of character are full of entertainment.

Pleasant Tragedies of Childhood. Verses by Burges Johnson. Pictures by F. Y. Cory. Harper & Bros., New York. $1.50.

One of the really delightful books about children of the present season. The rhymes are supplied by Mr. Burges Johnson, whose "Rhymes of Little Boys" was commented upon in these columns a few weeks ago as one of the best things of its kind that had appeared for a long time. Mr. Johnson's fascinating verses are illustrated in this book by a series of entertaining sketches by Fanny Y. Cory; and the book will serve a useful purpose by mitigating the anxieties and cares of very young parents of very young babies.

Preparation of Manuscripts for the Printer (The). By Frank H. Vizetelly. Funk & Wagnalls Co., New York. 75c., net.

A careful perusal of this little manual by those who write or hope to write for publication would make their relations with editors and publishers in many cases more satisfactory and agreeable. It contains much useful information and sound advice from a man of experience in the publishing world.

Professor's Legacy (The). By Mrs. Alfred Sidgwick. Henry Holt & Co., New York. $1.50.

This is a quiet and gentle story, but very far from a dull one. The "professor's legacy" is really that of his daughter, a simple, unsophisticated German girl, to the care of an English scientist, who is still a young man. The *naïveté* of the girl's infatuation for a handsome musician, her disillusionment on the subject of feminine friendship, and her final perception of her guardian's character and merits, are all brought out with distinctness. The story is, all in all, well worth reading, although hardly likely to become one of the great literary successes of the season.

Reptiles. By Henry W. McVickar. Illustrated. D. Appleton & Co., New York. $1.50.

A thoroughly disagreeable novel, illustrated by drawings as superficially clever as are the sentiments expressed. To see evil in the world and to sneer at weakness is the cheapest form of observation. It takes deeper discernment and far more intellect to appreciate than to depreciate.

St. Helena: The Historic Island. By E. L. Jackson. Illustrated. Thomas Whittaker, New York. $3, net.

This volume is strangely matter-of-fact, but on that very account has a certain restful charm. We naturally expect that Napoleon's sojourn at St. Helena would be made much of; instead, we have an orderly description of the island and a chronological account of the events which have happened there. Some of those events seem to us of trifling importance, and yet from the island point of view they must have been of far greater significance. The volume is interestingly illustrated.

Select Poems of Robert Browning. By A. J. George, A.M., Litt. D. Little, Brown & Co., Boston. $1.50.

As much perhaps as any English poet, Browning needs the aid of the intelligent and judicious editor who knows the material thoroughly, understands the genius of Browning, and at the same time keeps the poise of his own judgment unaffected by the singularly penetrating power and intellectual fascination of Browning. Mr. George has shown his uncommon competency as an editor, based on thorough study of English poetry and on the experience of the teacher in conveying the results of that study to others. In this volume he has endeavored to bring together such poems as best reveal the genius and quality of Browning's works, arranging his selection in chronological order, and supplying a series of notes, not too elaborate, which give the necessary biographical and literary information connecting the poems with events in the author's life, or the experiences of which they may be said to be the poetic expressions. This collection may be most cordially commended as containing the substance of Browning's best work; and is precisely the book to put in the hand either of the beginner who is to make the acquaint-

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ance of Browning, or the mature person who has been withheld from that acquaintance by the scoffs and jeers of the cynical or the more repellent over-praise and laudation of the idolaters. Browning has everything to gain and nothing to lose from such intelligent editorship as that shown in this volume.

Sir Galahad of New France. By William Henry Johnson. Herbert B. Turner & Co., Boston. $1.50.

The opening scene is the camp of Henry of Navarre, lying before Rouen, upon the eve of the surrender of that city. The hero, a youth intrusted with a letter to the King from his deserted Queen, enters, exhausted by his long, trying journey, and helpless in the presence of the heartless revelry he finds everywhere. From this point we follow him through many adventures, but not of the swashbuckler order. The son of a Protestant pastor of Lourdes, he meets the world as it was in the sixteenth century with the purity of Sir Galahad and the strength of Sir Launcelot. His care and love for the Indian girl Canoga, his preserver in the wilderness of New France, is a delicate idyl.

Spirit of Christmas (The). By Henry van Dyke. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. 75c., net.

A little volume, well made, containing the story of the Christmas angel, an essay on Christmas living and Christmas giving, a short sermon on keeping Christmas, and two Christmas prayers, full of Dr. van Dyke's spirit of helpfulness, and pervaded by the very human charm of his style.

Staircase of Surprise (The). By Frances Aymar Mathews. Illustrated. D. Appleton & Co., New York. $1.50.

This sensational tale of the Russo-Japanese war (the author seems to think the British and Russians were allies) is, as regards its incidents of fighting and intrigue, a dime novel pure and simple. The Chinese princess Chia Joya is amusing at first, but rapidly becomes trivial and absurd.

Tibet and Turkestan. By Oscar Terry Crosby, F.R.G.S. Illustrated. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. $2.50, net.

Perhaps the most interesting feature of this volume is a study of the effect on society of the climatic and also of the religious influences at work through the vast region traversed—from the Caspian Sea through Turkestan to Tibet. Regarding the wisdom of the English expedition to Tibet, Mr. Crosby believes that the "moral aspects of the matter demand the deepest concern of all citizens *of the predatory States constituting the civilized world*," and that "this particular war finds even in England only apologists rather than partisans." From this quotation it is easy to see that Mr. Crosby is an independent in his discussion of world politics.

Toll of the Bush (The). By William Satchell. The Macmillan Co., New York.

Mr. Satchell has made New Zealand a productive field of fiction. Like his former story, which deals with the gum country in New Zealand, this tale of the North Island abounds in unusual and true interesting local color and in the depiction of wild and luxuriant forests. Moreover, it has a thrilling story and not a few vividly written and exciting incidents. It seems to us far the best of the recent tales which have come to us dealing with Australasia.

Wife of the Secretary of State (The). By Ella Middleton Tybout. The J. B. Lippincott Co., Philadelphia. $1.50.

One unusual thing about this story is the evident faith of the author in the intelligence and imagination of the reader. The married life of the Secretary and his wife is beautifully restful, and no one need expect any thrilling revelations of evil as far as the principal actors are concerned. The plot centers, naturally, about the diplomatic circle in Washington, and is sufficiently involved to be absorbing. The conversation is lifelike and the characters are distinctly individualized. An entertaining novel burdened by no especial problem.

Writings of Benjamin Franklin. Collected and Edited by Albert Henry Smyth. Vol. I. The Macmillan Co., New York. $3, net.

This is the first volume of what seems almost certain to be the final edition of Franklin's works and correspondence. Later on we shall discuss the edition as a whole. It may now be said: First, that in physical qualities nothing better could be desired; in every respect the book is admirably fitted for library use, and special commendation must be given to the quality of the paper. Secondly, it is evident from the editor's announcement in the preface that the edition will not only contain a great deal of matter not known even to Mr. John Bigelow, who prepared the edition of Franklin's works which has heretofore been far the best, but that new material will include a good deal that is of real interest and of positive importance. Even in such a matter as the accurate printing of letters already well known the editor has found much that requires careful attention, as is shown by the fact that in making fresh copies from the original manuscripts he corrected more than two thousand errors in previous editions.

Zal: An International Romance. By Rupert Hughes. The Century Co., New York. $1.50.

The story of a Polish pianist who achieved a great musical triumph in America. Accompanied by his devoted mother and selfish father, Ladislav Momiczko makes a fortune, which is nothing to him without the love of one American girl, who, though an heiress, is also a born musician. The contrast between the Polish and American natures is excellently indicated; but all barriers fall before the overwhelming power of romantic love. Much musical criticism and many artistic theories are woven into the romance.

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Correspondence

The Ohio Election[1]

To the Editors of The Outlook:

In reading the editorial anent Governor Herrick and the anomalous situation in Ohio, in which strange factions were united to defeat Mr. Herrick, it seemed to me that full justice had not been done the critical judgment of the people of Ohio. I agree with you in upholding Governor Herrick's position in that particular specification regarding the Brannock bill. It was unjust discrimination against the "wets." But I think the people on sufficiently good grounds took exception to Mr. Taft's speech, and that it was not, as you state, the mere anger of the voters against George B. Cox that fell on the head of Mr. Herrick. We who live in Ohio know too well that Mr. Herrick has beyond the question of a doubt been dominated time and time again by Mr. Cox. And the one thing which does not appear in your editorial—in fact, almost the reverse—is that the liquor interests three days before the election all went over for Mr. Herrick and against Mr. Pattison. All over the State there was surreptitiously put out to the saloon-keepers for their distribution an unofficial ballot containing ten reasons published in five languages why Mr. Pattison should be opposed, and how any Democrat could vote for Mr. Herrick and the rest of it be a straight Democratic ticket. This was the eleventh-hour flop which had been predicted. But the Anti-Saloon League people were out the next day in the Sunday papers with a copy of the reasons, which made a very strong campaign document against Mr. Herrick. It (the original unofficial ballot) fell into the hands of many ministers, as it did into mine, and was read from the pulpits of many churches. It was the last straw with many old-time Republicans, and, as many of my people said to me, that had compelled them to vote for the first Democratic Governor they had ever voted for in their lives.

From the Anti-Saloon League people I learn that this had a tremendous effect all over the State. Thus to me the people were angered, with some justice, at Mr. Herrick, who had refused to follow the lead of Mr. Taft, which we hoped very much he would do, and who had shown himself weak enough to win at last the liquor vote.

E. M. Wylie,
Pastor Woodland Avenue Presbyterian Church,
Cleveland, Ohio.

To the Editors of The Outlook:

In your comment on our Ohio elections, November 18, page 636, you name five causes for Governor Herrick's fearful defeat: (1) "The general desire to defeat Boss Cox." Correct, especially because he was of the worst saloon type of boss. (2, numbered 1): "The general influence of political scandals." (3, numbered 2): "The enmity of certain petty bosses at the Governor's . . . exercise of a new veto power," etc. Correct, except that it was not "enmity," but rational protest, not of "petty bosses," but of vast numbers of temperance and agricultural voters, as explained further on. (4, numbered 3): "The enmity of the race-track gamblers." Those who know the bottom facts, here on the ground, know that this cut almost no figure at all; for, first, the race-track gamblers, all told, are the merest handful of the voters, though at first they made much noise—like General Grant's "two wolves" in Texas, whose "numerous" howling made him think there were fifty; and, second, because most of them concluded, after the Democratic Convention, that they would fare even worse with Pattison, "the Methodist temperance crank," than with Herrick, and hence they actually voted with the saloon interests for Herrick. (5, numbered 4): "The enmity of the Anti-Saloon League." This was not "enmity" towards Mr. Herrick personally, but courteous though strenuous opposition to his renomination and then to his election, because of his assumption of legislative functions by threatening to veto "the original Brannock bill" unless it should be amended at his suggestion, or rather his dictation. That bill had passed the Lower House by a good majority; it was indorsed, as the best thing obtainable, by the church people, the temperance people, the Anti-Saloon League, and by most of the Republican papers of the State. Right here the Governor forced its amendment to make it more "fair" to the saloons. And when, during the campaign, the Governor and his backers tried to show that the amended bill was really more favorable to temperance, in its limitations of local option, than was the "original" bill, the temperance people made the sarcastic and knock-down reply: "Then why did and do the saloons favor the amended bill, and the temperance and church people favor the original bill?" This assumption by the Governor of legislative functions, against the interests of temperance, I believe to have been the chief cause of his defeat. Your "trusted correspondent in Cincinnati" says, "Taft's speech [in Akron] defeated Herrick." A compliment to Taft, surely, for he distinctly and emphatically advised to vote for Herrick!

A second potent cause for his fearful defeat was the Governor's actual veto of 63 per cent. of the total legislative appropriations for higher agricultural education and research, and not one cent of those for higher *general* education and research. The Legislature,

[1] Comment on these and other letters from Ohio is made in our editorial columns.—The Editors.

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after full investigation and open hearings of the several executives by the proper committees, had with practical unanimity appropriated a total sum of $149,700 for the following four institutions of higher agricultural education and research: the State Agricultural College of the University, the State Experiment Station, the State Dairy Association, and the State Horticultural Society. Also to higher non-agricultural education a total sum of $453,450 to the State University, Columbus (aside from its Agricultural College), to the universities at Athens and at Oxford, and to the State Geological Survey, whose work is for the mining interests, not the agricultural. Now, notice: After the Legislature had adjourned, the Governor, without the consent or even the knowledge of the executive officer of either of the four institutions or societies interested, vetoed $95,000, or 63 per cent., as stated above, of the $149,700 appropriated for higher agricultural education and research, and not one cent of the $453,450 appropriated for higher general education and research! To the leaders in agricultural education and research and to intelligent farmers at large this seemed "class legislation," or class vetoing; and, unexplained as it ever remained, it seemed an insulting discrimination against the largest interest and one of the most intelligent classes in the State—the class that pays nearly half of the taxes and casts almost half of the votes. The farmers said so little that the political papers scarcely recognized them as a factor in the fight; but they have good memories.

This threatened veto and this actual veto worked against Mr. Herrick alone, not against the rest of the Republican ticket in the State; and Mr. Herrick alone met bitter defeat, while nearly all the rest of the State and legislative ticket pulled through, though by pluralities greatly diminished by the other causes mentioned, chiefly the general disgust at bossism and "graft."

Hudson, Ohio. W. I. CHAMBERLAIN.

Football

To the Editors of The Outlook:

Your editorial criticism of my article on football in your issue of November 18 was based largely on your stated belief that "the facts" were against me. You quote the "Harvard Bulletin" as to the injuries men receive that cripple them for weeks, and that in some cases "permanently unfit" them for athletic exercises. You quote further, in support of this position, the "Sun" for November 11, to the effect that the Wesleyan and Amherst teams were crippled, the latter "almost hopelessly crippled;" and you mention by name, for example, Cunningham and Reiter and Van Surdam, of the former team, and Captain Hubbard of Amherst, as being the ones "out of the game" and "on the retired list," and the other as having been "in a critical condition through injuries."

May I call your attention to the fact—which, if you do not follow football closely, may have escaped you—that on that same day, November 11, a week before your editorial was published, Wesleyan defeated the strong Williams team, Cunningham, Reiter, and Van Surdam being in the line-up; and Amherst tied Dartmouth—the team that has beaten Princeton and tied Harvard—Captain Hubbard's "critical condition" having sufficiently ameliorated to permit him to play a star game.

As these facts may not be convincing, and as you make such reports the basis of your dissent from my views, and speak of such accounts as "unhappily too familiar to every reader who follows the records of the game with care and interest," let me submit the following additional testimony.

The President of Amherst writes, under date of November 20—two days after the Amherst-Dartmouth game:

My dear Dr. White:

In reply to your inquiry, I would say that no members of the football eleven are "suffering from injuries that could properly be described as very serious or permanently crippling, or likely to unfit the player henceforth either for further athletic exercises or for the work of life."

Yours very truly,
(Signed) GEORGE HARRIS.

Director Reiter, of the Fayerweather Gymnasium at Wesleyan University, writes me: "The statement used editorially in the issue of The Outlook for November 18, as to the cripples at Wesleyan, is for the most part entirely erroneous. Reiter, Cunningham, and Van Surdam participated in the Williams game, and were in the best of condition."

President Hopkins, of Williams, referred my letter of inquiry to Dr. Olds, and writes me, inclosing his reply, and adding: "You can rely entirely on what he says."

Dr. Olds writes me under date of November 21, "We had no serious injuries this year;" and as to the injuries of the past thirteen years, he says, "All have recovered completely." He adds, "I recall no case of permanent deformity, except a few enlarged finger-joints, a few slight scars about the forehead, and several cases of what is known as 'football ear.'" He concludes, "I recall no case of injury which has interfered with further athletic exercise or with a man's life-work."

I would ask you, as you say you neither hope nor expect to see the game abolished, if the "facts," in an argument upon its dangers, are with me or with you in the cases you have cited in support of your position?

The "facts" are that "hysterical exaggeration" and "crude criticism" are not confined to the supporters of the game, and that even so conspicuously fair-minded and level-headed a periodical as The Outlook is liable to be led astray by statements in which adjectives describing supposed pathologic conditions are not used with surgical precision, and may even be led to imagine that the crippling of a *team*—a piece of machinery dependent for its efficiency upon the physical

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integrity of its separate components—means necessarily the crippling of all or many of the individual members of the team.

As to brutality and unnecessary roughness and foul play, I am at one with you, apparently, as I distinctly advocated an increase of the penalties and of the powers of the officials so as to exclude from the game altogether players or teams that indulged in "rough, brutal, or unfair tactics." Having said this, it did not seem necessary—especially as I was compelled for want of space to condense and cut down my original paper—to quote that portion of Mr. Roosevelt's speech which you say I omitted to mention, but I am glad to join you in hearty sympathy with every word of it, and pleased that you found room for it in your editorial columns.

I am in favor of doing anything that will purge football of its evils, but the proper way is not to begin by exaggerating those evils, and then proceeding to base on such exaggeration action that might ruin the most manly and vigorous game in which American college students take part, the most characteristic product in some respects of American competitive athletics.

J. William White.

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

"A Strike of Women:" The Other Side

To the Editors of The Outlook:

My attention has been called to a letter which appeared in the Correspondence department of your issue of November 11, 1905, the caption of which was "A Strike of Women." The letter was signed by Gertrude Barnum, Secretary of the Woman's Trade-Union League.

Believing that you desire to be fair to all concerned, I would ask that you give the manufacturers' statement the same prominence that you did that of the "Woman's Trades-Union League."

The strike began on April 27, when the hand-starchers in the collar laundry department of Cluett, Peabody & Co. left their places without assigning any reason. Since the strike various reasons have been given for it, as follows: Objections to starching-machines, unsatisfactory work of the machines, unsatisfactory prices paid for starching after the machines, reduction in prices paid for starching, oppressive rules applied to starchers, starchers unable to obtain a hearing on the part of Cluett, Peabody & Co., and that no strike exists, but that there is a "lockout."

As a matter of fact, starching-machines have been in use in the Troy laundries for more than fifteen years, though they were not introduced by Cluett, Peabody & Co. until the spring of 1904. The work of the machines has been entirely satisfactory, as indicated by their general adoption by the manufacturers. The earnings of the starchers, whether by hand or after the machine, depend largely on the ability and experience of the operator, an inferior starcher being able to earn nine dollars a week, while an experienced one will earn as much as eighteen dollars a week. No reduction in prices for starching was contemplated, and the claim that changing from hand-starching at four cents to starching after the machines at two cents reduced the earnings of the starchers is shown to be false. Starchers were not subjected to oppressive rules. As to the hand-starchers of Cluett, Peabody & Co. being unable to obtain a hearing, it should be said that they stopped work without assigning a reason, and that a director of that company informed them that if they would go on with their work, he would, within a half-hour, listen to any grievance they might wish to present. When work was offered to them it was refused, and they left the premises, the superintendent informing them that they were not dismissed, but were leaving of their own accord. As for hours of labor, they range from eight to ten daily, and rarely exceed fifty hours per week. Not only do the starchers in Troy receive larger compensation than is paid in other cities of the country, but the work-rooms are generally light and airy and the sanitary conditions excellent.

As to the attitude of the collar and shirt manufacturers toward organized labor, it has been the same for nearly twenty years, the manufacturers conceding the right of their employees to belong to labor organizations or to refrain from so doing, as they might prefer, the only requirements being that the employees should do their work satisfactorily and conduct themselves properly. In other words, it has been the rule of the manufacturers not to discriminate for or against labor organizations. To discriminate in favor of unions would be an injustice to the employees who do not belong to labor organizations, and in the collar and shirt industry of Troy not more than ten per cent. are identified with such organizations.

A careful consideration of the facts stated will show that the strike was entirely unjustifiable, and therefore could not and cannot possibly be the subject of compromise or arbitration.

A. G. B.

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

[Other correspondents call attention to cases of disgraceful violence on the part of the women strikers or their sympathizers against women workers. The fact that such violence had taken place was stated in the letter published in The Outlook, but it was also stated that the Union "sternly forbids" violence.—The Editors.]

The Legal Aid Society in New York

To the Editors of The Outlook:

Some thirty years ago the Legal Aid Society was established to give gratuitous advice and furnish legal assistance to deserving poor who had been wrongfully treated but were without sufficient means to assert their own rights.

The Society has not alone recovered and paid to its clients over one million dollars,

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which without its aid would have been withheld from two hundred thousand working people by their grasping employers, but it has restored these poor people's wavering confidence in the justice of our institutions, encouraging their continued honest efforts for their independent existence.

The usefulness of the Society has been demonstrated by its growth. As compared with two hundred cases treated in 1876, it took care in five offices, with the assistance of fourteen attorneys, of about twenty-five thousand cases in 1905.

To our Harlem branch recently came a little girl who helped to support her mother by running errands for a dressmaker. For the delivery of a suit she had been ordered to receive from an actress $21. The roll of bills which was placed in her tiny hand and delivered to her employer contained $16 only. As the missing $5 could not be found, the dressmaker sought to recover it by retaining the child's wages. She had not reckoned with our existence. It did not take our attorney long to obtain for the youthful breadwinner payment of the full amount she was entitled to receive.

Among sufferers recently relieved by the Seaman's Branch of the Legal Aid Society was a poor assistant to a physician. The advertisement of choice lots in Richmond Borough attracted him to the luxurious office of a Broadway real estate broker, who displayed on mahogany tables beautiful maps, superior to any that induced Mark Tapley to settle in Eden. Scadder persuaded our client to select a lot on the corner of Oyama and Togo Avenues and to pay $25 on account. After several visits to Staten Island, the doctor finally located the property, found that it commanded a delightful view of the Narrows, and suited his wants, but that instead of belonging to the parties who signed his contract, it was the undisputed ground of a prosperous golf club. Our attorney promptly compelled Scadder to disgorge.

Another interesting case in the same office was that of a blind, sixty-five-year-old sailor, who had been persuaded by the captain of a canal-boat to pump water from the hold of that vessel for $1 a day. When he had worked thirteen days, and could get only $3.25 from the wily master, he complained to us, and we succeeded in libeling the boat, in our client's interest, before the captain could skip to the Jersey shore.

Colored women, unable to collect money earned in a Tenderloin laundry for washing, invaded the main office of the Society. As an excuse of his failure to pay, the manager pleaded limitation of the liability of his stock company. Our attorney succeeded in discovering among the list of stockholders a wealthy broker, and forced payment of the just claims of our hard-working clients.

The patrons of our West Side Branch consist largely of servants who are discharged before their time, and claim our protection against unjust deductions from their wages.

Our office on the East Side is devoted almost exclusively to the poor Jews. Victimized by mean swindlers, who take advantage of their ignorance of our language, they crowd the limited space of our office. With tears streaming from dim eyes to their unshaven and unkempt beards, they tell tales of woe to our willing but too often helpless attorneys. The number of helpers should be increased, their offices enlarged, and more money placed at their disposal.

The practical results of the lavish contributions which are now made for the relief of Israelites in Russia will be their emigration; neither their lives nor their property will be safe as long as they remain in Russia. If they come here, their children will become good citizens; meanwhile we should not forget the poor Hebrews who are among us already. Some seventy thousand of them live on one hundred and ten acres of ground in the Tenth Ward of New York City alone—a population more dense than may be found in the slums of Paris or in London's Whitechapel.

If the Legal Aid Society were not prepared to help right their wrongs, these poor strangers would become an easy prey of the sharpers who abound in the Ghetto of New York.

Alms debase the recipient's character, but to receive any just claim he is entitled to elevates him.

The list of our Vice-Presidents includes Theodore Roosevelt, President of the United States, the Hon. Elihu Root, Secretary of State, the Hon. Joseph H. Choate, and Andrew Carnegie. The contributions fail to cover the ever-growing expenses.

LOUIS WINDMÜLLER, Treasurer.

The New Knight-Errantry

To the Editors of The Outlook:

Your reference in the issue of The Outlook for November 4 to Mr. Jerome as a "knightly figure tilting alone" recalls a speech of Mr. Lowell's in 1888 before the New Reform Club. In it he met the reiterated warning of the chairman, that in the work before them the Club was confronted by a strongly intrenched foe, with a story taken from an old Spanish ballad. It described the Moors as holding a seemingly impregnable position on a hill from which the Spanish forces had failed over and over again to dislodge them. At length into their discouraged ranks came riding a young man, who, learning of the desperate situation, said, "I thank God that he has left this work for me." And, putting spurs to his horse, he charged up the hill.

J.

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